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FBIS-EEU-95-048 CONTENTS *13 March 1995*

NOTICE TO READERS: All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Butrus-Ghali on UN Withdrawal From Croatia *[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 10 Mar]* 1

ALBANIA

Berisha Holds Private Talks at UN Summit *[Tirana TV]* 3
- Meets With Kohl, Others *[Tirana TV]* 3

Prime Minister's Expectations of Greek Visit *[Tirana TV]* 3

BULGARIA

Zhelev Assesses Results of Copenhagen Summit *[Sofia Radio]* 5
FYROM Envoy on Relations, Military Cooperation *[PARI 9 Mar]* 5
BSP Official on Relations With Government *[STANDART NEWS 7 Mar]* 6
Members of National Assembly Commissions *[DURZHAVEN VESTNIK 30 Dec, 17, 21 Feb]* 7

CZECH REPUBLIC

Havel Optimistic on Relations With Slovakia *[Prague Radio]* 16
Foreign Minister Returns From Central Asian Tour *[Prague Radio]* 16
Trade Minister Explains Purpose of Iran Trip *[Prague Radio]* 17
Report on Effect of Reforms Prepared for Summit *[Prague Radio]* 17
Klaus Questioned on BIS Services to Foreigners *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 9 Mar]* 17

SLOVAKIA

Reportage on Slovak-Hungarian Basic Treaty 18
- Meciar Interviewed *[Bratislava Radio]* 18
- Meciar, Horn Talk on Telephone *[Bratislava Radio]* 18
- Hungarian Dignitaries Arrive *[Bratislava Radio]* 18
- Schenk, Counterpart Comment *[Bratislava Radio]* 18
- Further Official Comment *[Bratislava Radio]* 19
- Party Reaction *[Budapest Radio]* 20
- Presidents Welcome Treaty *[Budapest Radio]* 20

Kovac Addresses Copenhagen Meeting *[Bratislava Radio]* 20
Russia's Lobov Arrives; Welcomed by Kozlik, Ducky *[Bratislava Radio]* 20
Meciar on Exports to Iran, Nuclear Station *[Bratislava Radio]* 20
SDL Criticizes Government 'Concentration of Power' *[Bratislava Radio]* 21
ZRS Speaks Out Against NATO Membership *[Bratislava Radio]* 21
Two Ministries Renamed; One New Ministry Set Up *[Bratislava Radio]* 21

HUNGARY

Hungarian-Slovak Treaty Talks Said Deadlocked *[Bratislava Radio]* 23
- Differences Noted *[Budapest Radio]* 23

Horn: Treaties Possible If Rights Noted *[Budapest TV]* 23
Government Takes Strict Economic Measures *[Budapest Radio]* 23
Social Welfare Minister Resigns *[Budapest Radio]* 24
SZDSZ Unwilling To Fill Ministerial Posts *[Budapest Radio]* 24
Horn Interviewed on Economic Measures *[Budapest TV]* 24

- Trade Union Officials on Economic Measures *[Budapest Radio]* 26
- Party Official on Economic Restructuring Problems *[NEPSZABADSAG 10 Mar]* 26
- FIDESZ Sees Desire To Dissolve Ethnic Bodies *[Budapest Radio]* 27
- Local Election Results Analyzed *[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG 21 Jan]* 27
- Government Role in HungarHotel Affair Detailed *[MAGYAR NARANCS 19 Jan]* 29

POLAND

- Pyongyang Protests U.S. Stand on Polish Mission *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 12 Mar]* 32
- Foreign Ministry Reply to NNSC Mission Report *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 9 Mar]* 32
- Government Not To Pursue Moscow Church Case *[Warsaw Radio]* 34
  - Daily on 'Unprecedented' Attack *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 10 Mar]* 34
- Walesa Departs for UN Summit in Copenhagen *[PAP]* 34
- Walesa Hopes Sejm Will Voluntarily Shorten Term *[Warsaw Radio]* 34
- Oleksy Tells MSW Public Safety Is Priority *[Warsaw TV]* 34
- Oleksy Disputes Primate's Allegations *[PAP]* 35
- Bartoszewski Discusses NATO, Country's Image *[Vienna DER STANDARD 12 Mar]* 35
  - Urges Cooperation With Germany *[Berlin DDP/ADN]* 36
- Radio Zet Interviews Defense Minister Okonski *[Warsaw Radio]* 37
- Daily Says Ananicz To Be Deputy Foreign Minister *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 11-12 Mar]* 38
- Yegor Gaydar Arrives at Invitation of UW *[Warsaw Radio]* 38
- UOP, GS Discuss Foreign Intelligence Presence *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 10 Mar]* 38
- Discord in SLD, PSL Over Presidential Nominee *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 10 Mar]* 38

ROMANIA

- UDMR Asks Interior Minister for Help *[Budapest Radio]* 40
- SRI Units on Alert Due to Ethnic 'Tensions' *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 8 Mar]* 40
- Funar Wants Referendum on Treaty With Hungary *[Bucharest Radio]* 40
  - Minority Rights Must Be Guaranteed *[Budapest TV]* 40
- Court Registers Mohora-Led Socialist Party *[ADEVARUL 8 Mar]* 40
- PAC Rejects Modifications to CDR Protocol *[Bucharest Radio]* 41
- Intelligence Forces Arrest Mercury Traffickers *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 7 Mar]* 41

BOSNIA-HERZEGONINA

- Zubak on Details of Bonn-Sponsored Accord *[Zagreb Radio]* 42
- Ljubic: Prerequisites for Successful Federation *[OSLOBODJENJE 2 Mar]* 42
- Akashi's Plane Fired on at Sarajevo Airport *[TANJUG]* 43
- ICRC Plane Fired on at Airport; Woman Seized *[AFP]* 43
- Silajdzic Opposes Extension of Cease-Fire *[Sarajevo Radio]* 44
- Arrested HVO Commander Allegedly Murdered *[SRNA]* 44
  - Commission To Investigate *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
  - Army Releases Statement *[Sarajevo Radio]* 45
  - Muslims Suspected *[SRNA]* 45
- Krajisnik Speaks About Muslim-Croat Alliance *[SRNA]* 45
- Rebel Muslim Leader Asks UN for More Aid *[TANJUG]* 46
- Serbs Preparing Offensive at Srebrenica, Zepa *[VECERNJE NOVINE 2 Mar]* 46
- Muratovic Blames UNPROFOR for Bihac *[DELO 9 Feb]* 47
- Article Recounts Trip to Velika Kladusa *[SRPSKA REC 13 Feb]* 49

CROATIA

- Tudjman-Gore Joint Statement, News Conference *[Zagreb Radio]* 51
  - Part of UN To Remain *[TANJUG]* 51
  - More on Talks *[Zagreb Radio]* 51
  - Tudjman on Copenhagen Decision *[Zagreb Radio]* 52
  - Babic Hails U.S. Participation *[TANJUG]* 53
- Tudjman, Kohl Discuss Ways To Resolve Crisis *[Zagreb Radio]* 53
- Indonesia's Suharto Views Balkans at Banquet *[Jakarta ANTARA]* 54

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Rumor Denied on Closing Border With Greece *[MIC]* 55
Gligorov, Butrus-Ghali Discuss UN, Greece *[BETA]* 55
PDP, Government Agree To Resume Talks *[Tirana TV]* 55
PDP Leader Describes Interethnic Relations *[Tirana TV]* 56
Council Assesses Constitutional Status of Serbs *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 10 Mar]* 56
Customs Director, National Bank Governor Named *[VECER 2 Mar]* 56

YUGOSLAVIA

Serbia

Party Leader Blames U.S. for Bosnian War *[Belgrade TV]* 57
Citizens' Alliance Urges Peace Plans' Acceptance *[Belgrade TV]* 57
SPO Calls For United Serbia in Peace *[Belgrade TV]* 58
CIA Report Blaming Serbs for Wars Rejected *[TANJUG]* 58
New Conditions Not Acceptable for Lifting of Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 59

Kosovo

Rugova: Independent State Remains Ultimate Goal *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT 10 Mar]* 59

Butrus-Ghali on UN Withdrawal From Croatia

AU1003153995 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Mar 95 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali by Friederike Bauer in Copenhagen on 9 March: "UN Withdrawal From Croatia Not Necessarily as Early as End of March"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the case of a pullout of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) from Croatia, the UN Security Council in New York would first have be consulted. In an interview with FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali expressed the view that the withdrawal could not automatically start with the end of the current mandate, which will expire on 31 March. Moreover, the forces would not leave the country overnight but within a matter of several months.

In theory, the Security Council has two possibilities should President Tudjman maintain his present position. The Council can either decide not to continue the operation under these circumstances, which would be tantamount to a formal resolution to withdraw: NATO could then start its operation. On the other hand, on the basis of Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, the Security Council could ascertain a "danger for peace and security," overrule Tudjman's will, and keep the forces in Croatia. However, Butrus-Ghali does not believe this to be a likely scenario. Therefore, the secretary general is hoping that a joint solution can still be found by the end of March because he would regard a termination of the operation as a "disaster." He said he was considering "all possibilities, including the extension of the mandate, if that were a step toward a peaceful solution." The modification could be to separate the UN Forces in Croatia from UNPROFOR, put them under the authority of another command, and give them a new name. However, this would entail higher costs.

The UN actions in the former Yugoslavia and Somalia, where the last UN soldiers have just pulled out, have shown that the United Nations is not able to achieve peace by force, Butrus-Ghali said. The United Nations should focus on classic peacekeeping because it is unable to cope with operations involving more than 8,000 or 10,000 men. "We cannot fight an aggressor," Butrus-Ghali said. If the international community of states sees the need to take action against a country, it has to form coalitions, comparablyeto what it did in the Gulf war. The United Nations could come into action once the country is pacified and the parties to the conflict expressed their readiness for a peaceful solution. As an example, Butrus-Ghali mentioned Haiti, where, with the support of the Security Council, the United States took over the first stage to be later replaced by UN Forces.

Butrus-Ghali noted than another difficulty was the growing reluctance of many countries to provide soldiers to the United Nations for peace missions. This is why he is again and again forced to accept contributions by countries that do not necessarily fulfill the condition of neutrality.

For many years the United Nations respected the unwritten law that member countries keep out of conflicts in their immediate sphere of interest. This principle is being increasingly undermined, the secretary general said. Turkish blue-helmet soldiers, for example, are serving in the former Yugoslavia, and Russian observers are stationed in Georgia. "Yet, if I do not have any other soldiers, I sometimes have to use such an offer." Butrus-Ghali believes that soldiers should be dispatched beyond continents: "Ideally, African blue-helmet soldiers serve in Latin America, European ones in Africa, Asian ones in Europe, and so on." The secretary general thus contradicted Defense Minister Volker Ruehe, without mentioning his name, who would like to deploy German soldiers only within Europe.

Butrus-Ghali also rejected the view that a number of countries, such as the United States, were withdrawing from "multilateral politics." The new, Republican-dominated Congress in Washington clearly expressed its skeptical view toward the United Nations. The congressmen would like to cut the budget for peace missions and link U.S. contributions to stricter conditions than in the past. Butrus-Ghali mentioned the UN action in Angola as an example that contradicts that: The United States agreed to dispatch 6,000 soldiers and will finance the operation with some $100 million.

The secretary general also pointed out that most UN activities did not take place in the "sphere of war and peace" but in the development sector (about 70 percent). He regretted that this was not sufficiently known because the two things are related and influencing one another: 79 of the 82 conflicts of the past few years had a social background. This is mind, he regards it as a success for the United Nations that the world social summit is being held. "The fact that more than 100 heads of state and government have come together to discuss social developments demonstrates the change in people's awareness. Yet, the conference was also marking a change in the North-South relationship: The phase of confrontation, in which the developing countries held the industrialized nations responsible for their problems, is over for good, having given way to a "phase of reconciliation." The developing countries realized that the calls for even new funds remained unheeded unless all parties made their contribution and cooperated. Meanwhile, the North has also understood that, although misery and suffering were taking place elsewhere, they had direct effects on their countries in terms of environmental destruction, narcotics trade, and organized crime. Whether the summit would produce concrete results may not become appreciable until a few years from now. "Development is a process of small steps, the first of which we have taken, and more will have to follow."

Butrus-Ghali would not comment on the ideas of Germany's Paschke, a UN official in the rank of a deputy secretary general who is responsible for examining the United Nations for mismanagement and bureaucracy, to close down organizations such as UNIDO [United Nations Industrial Development Organization]. He said it was up to the member states to decide whether UN bodies should be dissolved or restructured. Should the General Assembly pass a resolution to this extent, he would execute it "whether I like it or not." In this connection, he contradicted the view that more and more new international organizations were established but never any dissolved. As a case in point, he mentioned the UN department against apartheid, which no longer exists because the problem no longer exists, as he said.

Contrary to earlier intentions, Butrus-Ghali is obviously considering running for a second term. Although he made a point in stressing that he had not made a final decision yet, he hinted that he has grown fond of his job and would be ready to run for a second term.

Berisha Holds Private Talks at UN Summit

AU1203200595 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Mar 95

[Telephone report by Reis Cico from Copenhagen]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Albanian President Berisha, who arrived in Copenhagen last night, attended the UN summit proceedings today. [passage omitted]

At a meeting with Swedish Prime Minister Carlson, the two officials underlined the importance of strengthening political relations. The Swedish foreign minister's visit to Albania should serve to develop these relations. Berisha also asked for Sweden's support on Albania's membership in the Council of Europe and the agreement of association in the European Union.

Prime Minister Carlson pointed out that Sweden will support Albania's integration into Europe and that it intends to increase its aid for Albania.

At a meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Murayama, Berisha expressed gratitude for the considerable and noble aid that Japan has granted to Albania both directly and through international institutions. Murayama assessed Albania's reform achievements and assured President Berisha that Albania will continue to receive aid in the future. Both sides assessed the efforts to develop friendly relations and relations of cooperation between the two countries.

Berisha held another meeting with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus. Both stated that the further development of bilateral relations is a reciprocal interest. After appraising the valuable Czech experience in privatization, Berisha asked for the assistance of Czech experts in this field.

Berisha met with the amir of Kuwait, whom he thanked for the very important aid granted to Albania. The amir of Kuwait informed President Berisha that the Kuwaiti Investment Fund had approved the water project, and that it will consider with priority other Albanian projects that are presented.

President Berisha also held talks with the administrator of the United Nations Development Program, Mr. Steff, at which they assessed bilateral cooperation.

Meets With Kohl, Others

AU1203200795 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Mar 95

[Telephone report by Reis Cico from Copenhagen]

[FBIS Translated Text] Among the numerous meetings that President Berisha held this afternoon, the most special was with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, not only because of Germany's importance but because the meeting lasted 60 minutes instead of the planned 30.

Berisha first thanked the German chancellor for the unsparing aid Germany has granted Albania, and assured him that the aid has been used most efficiently. The president also expressed his pleasure that President Herzog's visit was a success. Now Mr. Herzog has seen not only the respect and empathy of officials but also the very friendly feelings that common Albanians have for Germany, Berisha stressed.

Chancellor Kohl stated that he was satisfied with President Herzog's visit and assessed it to be a very important step in strengthening bilateral relations.

Responding to Chancellor Kohl's interests in Albania's political and economic developments, Berisha briefed him on the reform achievements and the great difficulties our country is currently experiencing. Kohl assured Berisha that Germany will assist Albania in setting up an infrastructure, particularly in improving the water system and electricity. He also promised to see that negotiations on our EU association agreement are begun.

The situation in the Balkans and relations with our neighbors were other topics widely discussed at the meeting. Also discussed were the eventual withdrawal of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] troops and the implications of this departure, as well as the situation in Kosova and ways to resolve it.

The two leaders leaders expressed a common concern for the situation in the region and confirmed once again their will to contribute to reducing tension and achieving stability in the region.

President Berisha expressed his support for Bulgarian President Zhelev's proposal to call a Balkan conference and suggested that the current EU president also participate.

At a meeting with Croatian President Tudjman, talks focused on the tense situation in the region. Berisha stressed that Albania strongly supports Croatia's efforts to find a peaceful solution. However, outside Croatia's will, the Serbian nationalists may provoke a conflict that would seriously damage the whole region, Berisha stressed.

Berisha held his final meeting with Luxembourg Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker, a meeting at which bilateral relations were discussed extensively.

Prime Minister's Expectations of Greek Visit

AU1203200895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi stated for the Albanian Telegraphic Agency that the visit by Greek Foreign Minister Karolios Papoulias to Tirana on 13-15 March is welcomed by the Albanian Government. We have always favored an open political dialogue between our two governments, as we are convinced that only in this way can we overcome our disputes and unresolved issues.

Mr. Serreqi stressed that our viewpoint has been and remains that internal political developments should not influence the course of relations between states—otherwise, an artificial atmosphere is created that runs counter to the interests of our two peoples and countries. The Albanian foreign minister believes that this visit will create the necessary conditions for the normal development of relations between Albania and Greece, and help to install a climate of confidence.

I think the upcoming talks will be full of realistic tones and commitments to improve our relations, Serreqi said. I hope the talks will help normalize our relations and Albanian-Greek cooperation, based on principles of reciprocity, respect, and mutual interest, Serreqi concluded.

Zhelev Assesses Results of Copenhagen Summit

AU1303150995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 13 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] One hour ago, President Zhelev returned from Copenhagen, where he took part in the final stage of the world social development summit. At Sofia airport, the president expressed satisfaction with the Copenhagen forum and the bilateral meetings he had there.

Asked by our reporter Silvya Velikova to comment on the fact that the participants in the forum have been divided into optimists and pessimists in accordance to their attitude to the real consequences of the declaration that was adopted in Copenhagen, Dr. Zhelev said:

[Begin Zhelev recording] Whenever such a big forum is taking place, people always suspect that it has been nothing but a talking shop. Some 180 official delegations and dozens of nongovernmental informal movements took part in the forum. This in itself bears witness to the increased attention to the social problems of our world.

It would be unrealistic to expect that such a meeting could resolve all problems at a single blow, or even find a formula for their immediate solution. Nevertheless, I think the documents the conference adopted mark the beginning of resolving those problems in an adequate manner. I mean the declaration that was adopted and the program of action that contains more specific commitments.

Of course, those documents are not mandatory and they do not have a binding character as far as the governments are concerned. Nevertheless, we penetrated the specific subject in a more practical manner. [end recording]

FYROM Envoy on Relations, Military Cooperation

AU1303135295 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 9 Mar 95 p 6

[Interview with FYROM Ambassador Georgi Spasov by Tsvetanka Krusteva; place and date not given: "Disputed Issues Could Be Resolved Only Through Prudent Bilateral Dialogue"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Krusteva] Mr. Ambassador, where and how would Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] seek guarantees of its national independence and territorial security today, in conditions of a complicated international situation in Europe and the Balkans?

[Spasov] Macedonia will seek the guarantee of its independence and security first of all in its own ability and prudence, through which it will try to establish and develop good relations with its neighbors. Those relations must be based on the principle of respect for the sovereignty and security of every state and the right of all nations in the Balkans to exist. Macedonia wants to conduct a peaceful policy, and on the basis of this policy develop economic, cultural, and political relations with all neighbors. [passage omitted]

[Krusteva] To what degree does Macedonia rely on the United States, and what are the forms of the two countries' military cooperation?

[Spasov] Military cooperation between Macedonia and the United States is good, if one considers the level at which it is possible to develop military cooperation at present. I mean the restrictions imposed by the situation in which Macedonia finds itself as an independent and sovereign part of former Yugoslavia. Despite the fact that Macedonia is independent, it still is subjected to an embargo and sanctions on arms supplies. This is one aspect of the issue. The fact that we still do not have complete diplomatic relations with the United States is another aspect. Macedonia is a poor country. Our funds and budget do not allow us to invest great amounts in weapons. Relations between Macedonia and the United States in the military sphere do not include weapons, but rather the possibility of the United States' defending Macedonia against a potential aggressor, if necessary, through the Partnership for Peace program.

[Krusteva] Would you seek cooperation with Bulgaria in this sphere?

[Spasov] Undoubtedly, Macedonia will work to develop military cooperation with Bulgaria as well as with all other neighbors. Good relations between our countries are based first of all on the fact that Bulgaria was the first state to recognize our independence. We are prepared to work with your country in all areas in which there are no restrictions imposed by international institutions. Our good political and economic relations could serve as a basis for cooperation also in the military sphere. In this context I mean assistance on the part of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian Army in constructing the young Macedonian Army, and everything else that does not include the export of arms and is not restricted by international requirements.

Cooperation between the Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia in the military sphere cannot and should not be to the detriment of the other Balkan states, or appear to be a threat to their security. We would like Bulgaria to develop a dialogue related to resolving disputable issues and achieve greater security for all states, based on friendly relations, something that would guarantee peace better than any deployment of weapons and forces. [passage omitted]

[Krusteva] How do you assess current economic relations between the two countries? Some people are talking about stagnation; others, about the development of those relations.

[Spasov] Macedonia and Bulgaria have good economic relations. Despite the fact that those relations could be even better, at present we can be satisfied with the trade exchange between the two countries. Macedonia purchases from Bulgaria all the oil and fuel it needs. On the one hand, this satisfies Macedonia's needs in this sphere; and on the other, this trade is the source of significant revenue for Bulgaria's economy. We purchase annually from Bulgaria 600,000 tonnes of petroleum products. Macedonia has good metallurgical resources. The possibility of joint initiatives in this sphere exists. We must pay greater attention to cooperation in telecommunications, and above all take another step in developing the so-called mixed investments even before lifting the military restrictions. This would allow the mixed enterprises to develop and find a place on the international markets. Such a possibility is now emerging in the sphere of tourism. Last year most tourists to Macedonia came through Bulgaria. On the Okhrid Riviera alone, there were more than 1,500 tourists. Relations in the sphere of the so-called technical exhibitions are also developing rapidly. Close contacts exist between the Plovdiv and Skopje fairs. [passage omitted]

BSP Official on Relations With Government

AU1003171295 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 7 Mar 95 p 18

[Interview with Georgi Purvanov, deputy chairman of the Executive Bureau of the BSP, by Teodora Encheva; place and date not given: "BSP's Great Chance Lies With the Success of Videnov and His Team"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Encheva] You must already know about the theory of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and power, do you not? After all, You took an active part in preparing the main report for the plenum on 11 March.

[Purvanov] Two opposite views exist on this subject. Some people think the BSP has a clear idea about all the details and possibilities of government, that everything is ready and waiting in the chairman's safe and one has only to take it out. At the other extreme, a second group describes the BSP as unprepared and weak. In fact, we possess a vast potential as regards ideas, policies, and personnel. We are the only party that, for better or worse, is capable of ruling strongly and energetically.

However, now answers will be found to the big issue of the nature of the ruling party; and precisely for this reason, when the plenum is over we will then organize roundtable discussions, studies, and all-party conferences on the issue. We will not have the full answer to the question for a year or two. The experience that the BSP has gained since 1990 is not relevant, as the situation now is different, the people are different, and the figures in the political scene are new....

[Encheva] What is the greatest danger for the cabinet?

[Purvanov] The possibility that it may become a cabinet of experts. If so, at any moment it may lose the support of the main political force and be left hanging in midair.

[Encheva] In that case, surely someone will be able to develop a new ideology to describe the newly created situation?

[Purvanov] No, we do not need a new ideology. The ideological program must be translated into the language of government, and an effective mechanism created for maintaining relations between the party leadership, the government, and the parliamentary group.

Apart from this, there are two other dangers for the cabinet: that it may resort to cheap populist moves because of the social expectations, or that it may attempt to look too far into the future.

[Encheva] You mean, it may anticipate the future?

[Purvanov] This is the line of pure technocratic politics, which takes no account of social attitudes and feelings. The level of confidence in the cabinet is high but it is not unconditional and may easily be exhausted. It is good that the cabinet did not become a duplicate of the Executive Bureau or some other BSP structure—and thus averted the danger that party and state power might fuse into one. One can certainly say that the technocrats are in fashion at the moment. The cabinet should seek their views and implement them when necessary, but it should not lose the political resonance of government.

[Encheva] Who should act as a corrective to the socialist government?

[Purvanov] Many correctives exist. Even the BSP Supreme Council should not decline to assume such a role. It is wrong to think that such a function belongs by right to some imaginary or real inner party opposition.

[Encheva] Will Zhan Videnov sign the state budget as a Socialist or as a liberal?

[Purvanov] After Zhan Videnov has served his first 100 days, I hope we will all be convinced that he is a good administrator and indisputably the best prime minister for Bulgaria in the present situation. The balance between liberal and socialist ideas will be realized in practice only in two or three years time, but at least we should be able to see that this balance is embodied in the foundation of this government.

[Encheva] Videnov has no experience of government. As a Socialist, will he find it easier?

[Purvanov] It is my impression that Videnov knows how to govern. His close association with Professor Berov, which lasted two years, helped him acquire the knack.

[Encheva] Prof. Berov was also consulted on Videnov's program declaration....

[Purvanov] That is true, although the actual contact was very brief....

[Encheva] Is this why you maintain that continuity exists between the Berov and Videnov cabinets?

[Purvanov] It would be a good thing for any cabinet to seek continuity. It is high that we set ideologically based prejudices aside and stopped seeking confrontation at any price.

[Encheva] Who formulates policies in the BSP: the Supreme Council, the Executive Bureau, the prime minister, or the inner party opposition?

[Purvanov] Unfortunately, I must admit that political life has become very quiet at BSP headquarters, and this is something we should think about. This is the reason why some of my colleagues and I are proposing so strongly that the Supreme Council commissions be preserved and restructured so that they can play an active part in formulating the policies that the cabinet will apply.

[Encheva] Zhan Videnov evidently prefers that the Supreme Council commissions be disbanded, because they duplicate the cabinet's ministries....

[Purvanov] What Videnov prefers will become clear at the 11 March plenum, but I myself would not equate the commissions with the former Central Committee departments. Here we are talking about specialists who will transform the commissions into political laboratories operating alongside the ministers, National Assembly deputies, and members of various lobby groups. Thus, it will become possible to create a corrective for policies right here at BSP headquarters.

[Encheva] Is it possible that a new, unofficial leader of the BSP may appear?

[Purvanov] At the moment, no such problem exists. The BSP's big chance lies with the success of Zhan Videnov and his cabinet team. Failure will generate quite an upheaval among the party elite and will by itself produce leaders. However, these leaders will be born out of chaos, and this is something that I do not want to think about....

Members of National Assembly Commissions

95P20549A

[FBIS Editorial Report] On 17 and 21 February, the Bulgarian National Assembly's official organ, DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, published the names of members of the Assembly's permanent commissions. The names are in Cyrillic alphabetic order by first name in accordance with Bulgarian practice and are grouped according to their parliamentary groups: the governing majority coalition composed of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union—Aleksandur Stamboliyski, and the Ekoglasnost Political Club (BSPASEK); the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS); the People's Union (NS); the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS); and the Bulgarian Business Bloc (BBB). The party adherence of the 240 members of the Bulgarian National Assembly was previously published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Number 107 on 30 December 1994.

Economic Commission

The Economic Commission has 31 members. Its chairman is Atanas Atanasov Paparizov of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are: Aleksandur Dimov Bozhkov of the SDS and Maksim Zhekov Dimov of the DPS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Ana Georgieva Milenkova

—2. Angel Georgiev Dimov

—3. Andrey Karlov Lukanov

—4. Atanas Atanasov Paparizov

—5. Georgi Nikolov Nikolov

—6. Emil Veselov Filipov

—7. Zlatimir Stoyanov Orsov

—8. Kol'o Velkov Kolev

—9. Mariana Simeonova Khristova

—10. Nikola Petrov Koychev

—11. Orlin Rizov Rizov

—12. Petko Stoyanov Pekhlivanov

—13. Petur Vladimirov Dimitrov

—14. Rosen Dinev Mikhaylov

—15. Stefan Iliev Stoilov

—16. Stoyko Zhekov Penchev

SDS Members

—1. Aleksandur Dimov Bozhkov

—2. Dimitur Asenov Saruivanov

—3. Dimo Georgiev Gyaurov

—4. Krasimir Atanasov Momchev

—5. Mario Ivanov Tagarinski

—6. Svetoslav Denchev Luchnikov

—7. Stefan Antonov Sofiyanski

—8. Tson'o Georgiev Botev

—9. Charodey Petrov Chernev

NS Members

—1. Kalcho Petrov Chukarov

—2. Stefan Petrov Lichev

DPS Members

—1. Maksim Zhekov Dimov

—2. Yudzhel Naim Atilla

BBB Members

—1. Valentin Stoyanov Stoev

—2. Yasho Dimitrov Minkov

Commission on Budget and Finance

The Commission on Budget and Finance has 23 members. Its chairman is Georgi Nikolov Nikolov of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are: Stefan Antonov Sofiyanski of the SDS and Ventseslav Asenov Dimitrov of the NS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Georgi Avramov Dimov

—2. Georgi Nikolov Nikolov

—3. Dimitur Stanimirov Doychinov

—4. Emil Strakhilov Kostadinov

—5. Ivaylo Georgiev Kalfin

—6. Ivan Asenov Atanasov

—7. Yordan Kirilov Shkolagerski

—8. Kiril Stoyanov Zhelev

—9. Plamen Dimitorv Denchev

—10. Radostin Ivanov Dimitrov

—11. Rosen Dinev Mikhaylov

—12. Stefan Iliev Stoilov

SDS Members

—1. Vladimir Todorov Abadzhiev

—2. Krasimir Atansov Momchev

—3. Muravey Georgiev Radev

—4. Pavel Dimitrov Shopov

—5. Stefan Antonov Sofiyanski

—6. Charodey Petrov Chernev

NS Member

—1. Ventseslav Asenov Dimitrov

DPS Members

—1. Gulbie Redzheb Osman

—2. Maksim Zhekov Dimov

BBB Members

—1. Valentin Stoyanov Stoev

—2. Yasho Dimitrov Minkov

Commission on the Structure and Activity of State Organizations

The Commission on the Structure and Activity of State Organizations has 23 members (but only 20 were listed by DURZHAVEN VESTNIK). Its chairman is Spas Atanasov Muletanov of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Svetoslav Denchev Luchnikov of the SDS and Aleksandur Asenov Dzherov of the NS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Ana Georgieva Milenkova

—2. Ana Ivanova Karaivanova

—3. Valentina Krumova Georgieva

—4. Dimitur Georgiev Dimitrov

—5. Kalin Nikolov Dimitrov

—6. Lilyan Yosifov Sirakov

—7. Mariela Nikolaeva Miteva

—8. Mariya Zakharieva Stoyanova

—9. Rumyana Nik[illegible]a Shubekova

—10. Spas Atanaso[illegible] Muletarov

—11. Stefka Stefanova Naumova

—12. Khristo Ivanov Khristov

SDS Members

—1. Vasil Stoyanov Gotsev

—2. Dako Naykov Mikhaylov

—3. Dimo Georgiev Gyaurov

—4. Ekaterina Ivanova Mikhaylova

—5. Svetoslav Denchev Luchnikov

—6. Spas Simeonov Dimitrov

NS Member

—1. Aleksandur Asenov Dzherov

DPS Member

—1. Seyhan Kasim Saduk

Commission on Local Self-Government, Administrative-Territorial Structure, and Regional Policy

The Commission on Local Self-Government, Administrative-Territorial Structure, and Regional Policy has 29 members. Its chairman is Dimitur Velev Dimitrov of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Konstantin Vankov Todorov of the SDS and Emil Strakhilov Kostadinov of the BSPASEK. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Angel Petrov Naydenov
—2. Boris Yanev Stoyanov
—3. Vasil Todorov Kalinov
—4. Georgi Ivanov Zakhariev
—5. Dimitur Velev Dimitrov
—6. Dobromir Filipov Todorov
—7. Emil Strakhilov Kostadinov
—8. Zhecho Yordanov Popov
—9. Ivan Yosifov Ivanov
—10. Ivan Kostadinov Ivanov
—11. Ivan Penev Bratulev
—12. Milko Kostadinov Torbov
—13. Natasha Kirilova Tacheva
—14. Rusi Ivanov Statkov
—15. Yanka Atanasova Kyurkchieva

SDS Members

—1. Vasil Zhelyazkov Doykov
—2. Dimitur Georgiev Zhelev
—3. Zvezdalin Vekilov Kafedzhiev
—4. Ivan Georgiev Sotirov
—5. Ivan Khristov Dimitrov
—6. Konstantin Vankov Todorov
—7. Mikhail Rashkov Mikhaylov
—9. Nelson Makhev Nenov

NS Members

—1. Veselin Metodiev Petrov
—2. Stoyan Trifonov Prodanov

DPS Members

—1. Gyuner Behchet Tahir
—2. Remzi Durmush Osman

BBB Member

—1. Dimitur Ivanov Dichev

Commission on Foreign Policy

The Commission on Foreign Policy has 29 members (but only 28 were listed). Its chairman is Nikolay Georgiev Kamov of the BSPASEK, deputy chairmen are Asen Yordanov Agov of the SDS and Stoyan Georgiev Denchev of the DPS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Aleksandur Vasilev Lilov
—2. Andrey Karlov Lukanov
—3. Atanas Atanasov Paparizov
—4. Vladimir Vladimirov Topencharov
—5. Evgeni Zakhariev Kirilov
—6. Elena Borislavova Poptodorova
—7. Ivaylo Georgiev Kalfin
—8. Ivan Aleksiev Gaytandzhiev
—9. Ivan Georgiev Genov
—10. Klara Vulova Marinova
—11. Nikolay Georgiev Kamov
—12. Petur Georgiev Bashikarov
—13. Tosho Ivanov Mukhtanov
—14. Filip Georgiev Bokov
—15. Chavdar Yordanov Kyuranov

SDS Members

—1. Aleksandur Yordanov Aleksandrov
—2. Anatoliy Metodiev Velichkov
—3. Asen Yordanov Agov
—4. Valentin Iliev Vasilev
—5. Vasil Stoyanov Gotsev
—6. Luchezar Blagovestov Toshev
—7. Nadezhda Nikolova Mikhaylova
—8. Filip Dimitrov Dimitrov

NS Members

—1. Anastasiya Georgieva Dimitrova-Mozer
—2. Stefan Dimitrov Savov

DPS Members

—1. Kemal Eyup Adil
—2. Stoyan Georgiev Denchev

BBB Member

—1. Ivo Krumov Traykov

Commission on National Security

The Commission on National Security has 31 members. Its chairman is Nikolay Kirilov Dobrev of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Khristo Damyanov Biserov of the SDS and Petko Iliev Penev of the NS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Aleksandur Ivanov Marinov

—2. Angel Petrov Naydenov

—3. Georgi Vladimirov Yurukov

—4. Georgi Dimitrov Georgiev

—5. Georgi Stefanov Popov

—6. Yovcho Marinov Rusev

—7. Krasimir Andreev Premyanov

—8. Lyuben Yordanov Petrov

—9. Nikolay Kirilov Dobrev

—10. Nina Lazarova Gerinska

—11. Radostin Ivanov Dimitrov

—12. Sashka Georgieva Karakasheva

—13. Stefan Veselinov Gaytandzhiev

—14. Stoyko Zhekov Penchev

—15. Tosho Ivanov Mukhtanov

—16. Filip Georgiev Bokov

SDS Members

—1. Vasil Ivanov Zlatarov

—2. Vasil Nikolaev Mikhaylov

—3. Georgi Gervanov Ananiev

—4. Dyanko Georgiev Markov

—5. Evgeniy Penkov Ekov

—6. Ivan Zapryanov Glushkov

—7. Ivan Kirilov Stanchev

—8. Khristo Damyanov Biserov

NS Members

—1. Veselin Metodiev Petrov

—2. Ivan Spasov Nevrokopski

—3. Petko Iliev Penev

DPS Members

—1. Remzi Durmush Osman

—2. Stoyan Georgiev Denchev

BBB Members

—1. Georgi Dimitrov Dilkov

—2. Dimitur Ivanov Dichev

Commission on Human Rights and Religious Faiths

The Commission on Human Rights and Religious Faiths has 15 members. Its chairman is Velko Vulkanov Ivanov of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Ekaterina Ivanova Mikhaylova and Ibrahim Tosun Tatarlu. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Aleksandur Vasilev Lilov

—2. Velko Vulkanov Ivanov

—3. Gincho Marinov Pavlov

—4. Evgeni Zakhariev Kirilov

—5. Elena Borislavova Poptodorova

—6. Elisaveta Petrova Milenova

—7. Ivan Dimov Zunzov

—8. Petur Stefanov Georgiev

SDS Members

—1. Ekaterina Ivanova Mikhaylova

—2. Ivan Ivanov Sungarski

—3. Ivan Penchev Tosev

—4. Konstantin Vankov Todorov

NS Member

—1. Anastasiya Georgieva Dimitrova-Mozer

DPS Member

—1. Ibrahim Tosun Tatarlu

BBB Member

—1. Orlin Vurbanov Draganov

Commission on Agriculture and Forestry

The Commission on Agriculture and Forestry has 25 members. Its chairman is Todor Yordanov Todorov of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Vladimir Borisov Kostov of the SDS and Stefan Petrov Lichev of the NS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Angel Georgiev Dimov

—2. Boncho Draganov Rashkov

—3. Boris Todorov Kolev

—4. Zlatimir Stoyanov Orsov

—5. Yordan Atanasov Roynev

—6. Kosta Todorov Andreev

—7. Lyubcho Pavlov Kharalampiev

—8. Meglena Ivanova Plugchieva

—9. Petko Todorov Ganev

—10. Todor Yordanov Pandov

—11. Todor Yordanov Todorov

—12. Khristo Borisov Bonov

—13. Khristoz Dobrev Khristozov

SDS Members

—1. Vladimir Nikolov Nikolov

—2. Vladislav Borisov Kostov

—3. Mariyana Ivanova Lukova

—4. Nelson Maknev Nenov

—5. Nikolay Dimitrov Nalbantov

NS Members

—1. Georgi Penchev Ivanov

—2. Kalcho Petrov Chukarov

—3. Mon'o Khristov Khristov

—4. Stefan Petrov Lichev

DPS Members

—1. Hasan Ali Hasan

—2. Yumer Yusein Yumer

BBB Member

—1. Khristo Nikolov Stoyanov

Commission on Education and Science

The Commission on Education and Science has 25 members (but only 23 were listed). Its chairman is Yuriy Mitkov Borisov of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Georgi Stefanov Popov of the BSPASEK and Georgi Stefanov Panev of the SDS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Boyko Stefanov Velikov

—2. Boyan Borisov Kirov

—3. Vladimir Vladimirov Topencharov

—4. Georgi Stefanov Popov

—5. Georgi Todorov Bozhinov

—6. Donka Stefanova Doncheva

—7. Emiliya Todorova Tomova

—8. Nina Lazarova Gerinska

—9. Rumyana Nikolova Shubekova

—10. Stanka Yanakieva Velichkova

—11. Stefka Stefanova Naumova

—12. Todor Ivanov Zhivkov

—13. Yuriy Mitkov Borisov

SDS Members

—1. Aleksandur Yordanov Aleksandrov

—2. Vladimir Georgiev Shkodrov

—3. Georgi Stefanov Panev

—4. Luchezar Blagovestov Toshev

—5. Svetlana Grigorova Dyankova

—6. Tsvetan Ivanov Dimitrov

NS Members

—1. Aleksandur Asenov Dzherov

—2. Mitko Dimitrov Nitov

DPS Member

—1. Mehmed Beytulla Hadzhiyumer

BBB Member

—1. Dilyana Nikolova Dimitrova

Commission on Culture

The Commission on Culture has 17 members. Its chairman is Ivo Purvanov Atanasov of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Stoyan Chilov Raychevski of the SDS and Nikolay Petrov Kis'ov of the BBB. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Anzhel Raymond Vagenshtayn

—2. Georgi Sedefchov Purvanov

—3. Dobromir Martinov Zadgorski

—4. Dragomir Georgiev Shopov

—5. Ivo Purvanov Atanasov

—6. Ilko Savov Savov

—7. Svetoslav Kolev Michev

—8. Todor Ivanov Zhivkov

—9. Chavdar Atanasov Dobrev

SDS Members

—1. Evgeniy Svetoslavov Mikhaylov

—2. Emil Yanakiev Kapudaliev

—3. Ivan Penchev Tosev

—4. Sasho Nachev Stoyanov

—5. Stoyan Chilov Raychevski

NS Member

—1. Nikolay Ivanov Khristov

DPS Member

—1. Ibrahim Tosun Tatarlu

BBB Member

—1. Nikolay Petrov Kis'ov

Commission on Radio, Television, and the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency

The Commission on Radio, Television, and the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency has 23 members. Its chairman is Zhorzh Ganchev Ganchev of the BBB; deputy chairmen are Klara Vulova Marinova of the BSPASEK and Evgeniy Svetoslavov Mikhaylov of the SDS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Anzhel Raymond Vagenshtayn

—2. Georgi Avramov Dimov

—3. Georgi Dimitrov Georgiev

—4. Dragomir Georgiev Shopov

—5. Ivan Aleksiev Gaytandzhiev

—6. Ivo Purvanov Atanasov

—7. Klara Vulova Marinova

—8. Kosta Todorov Andreev

—9. Lyubomir Panayotov Kolarov

—10. Rumyana Nikolova Shubekova

—11. Svetoslav Kolev Michev

—12. Stoycho Mikhaylov Shapatov

SDS Members

—1. Blagoy Nikolaev Dimitrov

—2. Evgeniy Svetoslavov Mikhaylov

—3. Emil Yanakiev Kapudaliev

—4. Ivan Petrov Budimov

—5. Krum Dimitrov Slavov

—6. Mario Ivanov Tagarinski

—7. Sasho Nachev Stoyanov

NS Members

—1. Iliya Petkov Danov

—2. Nikolay Ivanov Khristov

DPS Member

—1. Gyuner Behchet Tahir

BBB Member

—1. Zhorzh Ganchev Ganchev

Commission on the Protection of the Environment and of Waters

The Commission on Protection of the Environment and of Waters has 15 members. Its chairman is Boris Todorov Kolev of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Georgi Todorov Bozhinov of the BSPASEK and Valentin Iliev Vasilev of the SDS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Boris Todorov Kolev

—2. Vasil Todorov Kalinov

—3. Georgi Todorov Bozhinov

—4. Dimitur Nikolov Dimitrov

—5. Meglena Ivanova Plugchieva

—6. Petur Petrov Slabakov

—7. Spas Dimitrov Stankev

—8. Stanimir Kalchev Kalchevski

SDS Members

—1. Valentin Iliev Vasilev

—2. Edvin Stefanov Sugarev

—3. Mariyana Ivanova Lukova

—4. Ruslan Marinov Serbezov

NS Member

—1. Iliya Petkov Danov

DPS Member

—1. Yumer Yusein Yumer

BBB Member

—1. Dilyana Nikolova Dimitrova

Commission on Labor, Social, and Demographic Problems

The Commission on Labor, Social, and Demographic Problems has 23 members (but only 20 were listed). Its chairman is Nikola Petrov Koychev of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Elena Dimitrova Yaneva of the BSPASEK and Nikola Stoilov Katsarski of the SDS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Boyan Borisov Kirov

—2. Dimitur Nikolov Dimitrov

—3. Dobromir Filipov Todorov

—4. Doncho Svobodanov Atanasov

—5. Elena Dimitrova Yaneva

—6. Elisaveta Petrova Milenova

—7. Nikola Petrov Koychev

—8. Radostin Ivanov Dimitrov

—9. Rusi Ivanov Statkov

—10. Petko Todorov Ganev

—11. Petur Stefanov Georgiev

—12. Chavdar Yordanov Kyuranov

SDS Members

—1. Dimitur Anastasov Stoyanov

—2. Ivan Ivanov Sungarski

—3. Ivan Petrov Budimov

—4. Loreta Metodieva Nikolova

—5. Nikola Stoilov Katsarski

—6. Svetlana Grigorova Dyankova

NS Member

—1. Mitko Dimitrov Nitov

DPS Member

—1. Gulbie Redzheb Osman

Commission on Health

The Commission on Health has 17 members (but only 16 were listed). Its chairman is Ivan Dimov Zunzov of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Georgi Benchev Karev of the SDS and Borislav Dimitrov Kitov of the NS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Aleksandur Ivanov Gerchev

—2. Boris Tsvetkov Bankov

—3. Valeri Pavlov Sturshelov

—4. Valentina Krumova Georgieva

—5. Dimitur Petrov Dimitrov

—6. Elena Dimitrova Yaneva

—7. Ivan Dimov Zunzov

—8. Iliya Aleksandrov Mavrodiev

—9. Rusalin Simeonov Arnaudov

SDS Members

—1. Georgi Benchev Karev

—2. Grigor Kostov Malev

—3. Dimitur Tsonkov Ivanov

—4. Loreta Metodieva Nikolova

NS Member

—1. Borislav Dimitrov Kitov

DPS Member

—1. Osman Ahmed Oktay

BBB Member

—1. Orlin Vurbanov Draganov

Commission on Youth, Sports, and Tourism

The Commission on Youth, Sports, and Tourism has 17 members. Its chairman is Rumen Yordanov Rusev of the BBB; deputy chairmen are Khristo Ivanov Khristov of the BSPASEK and Petur Stefanov Stoyanov of the SDS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Aleksandur Ivanov Marinov

—2. Boyko Stefanov Velikov

—3. Vladimir Georgiev Kotsakov

—4. Donka Stefanova Doncheva

—5. Ivan Asenov Atanasov

—6. Ilko Savov Savov

—7. Mariela Nikolaeva Miteva

—8. Khristo Ivanov Khristov

SDS Members

—1. Grigor Kostov Malev

—2. Ivan Khristov Dimitrov

—3. Mikhail Rashkov Mikhaylov

—4. Petur Stefanov Stoyanov

—5. Tsvetan Ivanov Dimitrov

NS Member

—1. Atanas Georgiev Atanasov

DPS Member

—1. Yudzhel Naim Atilla

BBB Member

—1. Rumen Yordanov Rusev

Commission on Parliamentary Ethics

The Commission on Parliamentary Ethics has 13 members (but only 12 were listed). Its chairman is Ana Ivanova Karaivanova of the BSPASEK; the deputy chairman is Dako Neykov Mikhaylov of the SDS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Ana Ivanova Karaivanova

—2. Boris Yanev Stoyanov

—3. Velko Vulkanov Ivanov

—4. Emiliya Todorova Tomova

—5. Zavarin Spasov Marov

—6. Lyubcho Pavlov Kharalampiev

—7. Rosen Khubenov Stoilov

SDS Members

—1. Dako Neykov Mikhaylov

—2. Ivan Georgiev Sotirov

—3. Krum Dimitrov Slavov

NS Member

—1. Borislav Dimitrov Kitov

DPS Member

—1. Seyhan Kasim Saduk

Commission on Energy and Energy Resources

The Commission on Energy and Energy Resources has 15 members. Its chairman is Plamen Dimitrov Denchev of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Spas Dimitrov Stankev of the BSPASEK and Dimitur Georgiev Zhelev of the SDS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Vladimir Georgiev Kotsakov

—2. Ivan Kostadinov Ivanov

—3. Milko Kostadinov Torbov

—4. Natasha Kirilova Tacheva

—5. Orlin Rizov Rizov

—6. Plamen Dimitrov Denchev

—7. Spas Dimitrov Stankev

—8. Stanimir Kalchev Kalchevski

SDS Members

—1. Dimitur Georgiev Zhelev

—2. Nikolay Dimitrov Nalbantov

—3. Svobodka Stefanova Encheva

NS Member

—1. Petko Iliev Penev

DPS Member

—1. Kemal Eyup Adil

BBB Members

—1. Dimitur Ivanov Dichev

—2. Ivo Krumov Traykov

Commission for Oversight of the Incomes, Expenditures, and Property of Political Parties

The Commission for Oversight of the Incomes, Expenditures, and Property of Political Parties has 13 members (but only 12 were listed). Its chairman is Emil Veselov Filipov of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Dobromir Martinov Zadgorski of the BSPASEK and Pavel Dimitrov Shopov of the SDS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Valeri Pavlov Sturshelov

—2. Dimitur Stanimirov Doychinov

—3. Dobromir Martinov Zadgorski

—4. Emil Veselov Filipov

—5. Sashka Georgieva Karakasheva

—6. Spas Atanasov Muletarov

—7. Stefan Veselinov Gaytandzhiev

SDS Members

—1. Vasil Nikolaev Mikhaylov

—2. Ivan Kirilov Stanchev

—3. Pavel Dimitrov Shopov

NS Member

—1. Atanas Georgiev Atanasov

DPS Member

—1. Osman Ahmed Oktay

Commission Against Corruption

The Commission Against Corruption has 11 members. Its chairman is Lilyan Yosifov Sirakov of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Mariya Zakharieva Stoyanova of the BSPASEK and Edvin Stefanov Sugarev of the SDS. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Georgi Ivanov Zakhariev

—2. Gincho Marinov Pavlov

—3. Zhecho Yordanov Popov

—4. Lilyan Yosifov Sirakov

—5. Mariya Zakharieva Stoyanova

—6. Yuriy Mitkov Borisov

SDS Members

—1. Dimitur Asenov Saruivanov

—2. Edvin Stefanov Sugarev

NS Member

—1. Stoyan Trifonov Prodanov

DPS Member

—1. Mehmed Beytulla Hadzhiyumer

BBB Member

—1. Georgi Dimitrov Dilkov

Commission on the Development of Mountainous, Hilly, and Border Regions

The Commission on the Development of Mountainous, Hilly, and Border Regions has 15 members. Its chairman is Yovcho Marinov Rusev of the BSPASEK; deputy chairmen are Hasan Ali Hasan of the DPS and Khristo Nikolov Stoyanov of the BBB. The members are:

BSPASEK Members

—1. Ivan Yosifov Ivanov

—2. Zavarin Spasov Marov

—3. Yovcho Marinov Rusev

—4. Yordan Atanasov Roynev

—5. Kalin Nikolov Dimitrov

—6. Petko Stoyanov Pekhlivanov

—7. Petur Petrov Slabakov

—8. Yanka Atanasova Kyurkchieva

SDS Members

—1. Anatoliy Metodiev Velichkov

—2. Dimitur Anastasov Stoyanov

—3. Evgeniy Penkov Ekov

—4. Zvezdalin Vekilov Kafedzhiev

NS Member

—1. Georgi Pinchev Ivanov

DPS Member

—1. Hasan Ali Hasan

BBB Member

—1. Khristo Nikolov Stoyanov

Havel Optimistic on Relations With Slovakia

LD1203164495 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 12 Mar 95

[Regular weekly interview with President Vaclav Havel, by station editor Eva Hulkova; place and date not given; "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Hulkova] We have agreed that President Vaclav Havel first be asked in these Conversations at Lany about a visit on 8 March by [Slovak] President Michal Kovac. [passage omitted]

[Havel] Look, I have the feeling that in our country we are facing the following danger. At the time when events are taking place in Slovakia that we do not perceive as best or fully understandable, we are saying to each other in a low voice: What a good thing that we have split, let them follow their special path, we are a decent democratic country, we are OK. However, we are not saying anything openly because, in the interest of appropriate relations between our two states, we should not intervene.

I consider this attitude to be very inappropriate. President Kovac has said that the relations between our states should be standard ones, as are relations between two normal independent states, but that political and civic relations should always go, to a certain degree, above the standard level. What he meant is that, after all, we should not forget that the Slovaks are the nation closest to us, that we understand each other's language, that for long decades we lived in a common state, that before that we kept inspiring each other through our contacts for long centuries, that there is an enormous network of relations between our citizens, that there are big minorities from the other state in both of our states, and that there is an enormous network of economic relations.

This all puts Slovakia in a special place, not only from our point of view but also from a political and geopolitical point of view.

I think that, as we were splitting, Czech politicians had no option but to accept it. I do not hold anything against them. The split of the state was probably necessary. It took me a long time to come to terms with it, but I came to terms with it.

However, my feeling is that we are forgetting all too fast, all too easily and a bit artificially that we used to be a different state, a federal state, and that we lived together with the Slovaks.

This above-standard level, as President Kovac put it, of our relations—the special place Slovakia assumes in our eyes, the place it necessarily has from a psychological point of view, the place it rightly has—means in my view that as friends we can say more things looking each other into the eye, as is appropriate among friends; more things, sometimes even unepleasant ones. I do not know why and do not see any reason why I could freely criticize what is happening in the United States, the Russian Federation, or Germany, and why I should adopt special caution as regards Slovakia. In fact, it is just to the contrary—the Slovaks are closest to us and this means that it is them with whom we can be most open, whatever we are talking about.

There are things in the Slovak political life that really alarm me. They give the impression of being legal, it is not possible to say that human rights or constitutional principles etc are being violated.

However, from our historic experience, we know very well how easy it is to hide dangerous processes under the cover of legitimacy. I think that it is my duty to tell the president if I make such an observation, and it is also my duty to tell journalists that I told him this.

All this which I am saying here is not the sign of pessimism. I do believe that everything will end well in Slovakia, that democracy will prevail there once for all, as is the case in our country. I do believe that Slovakia, in harmony with its official foreign policy, will move toward the western world, integrating into the European structures.

After all, this is also in the essential interest of the Czech Republic, as we do not want to have our eastern border turning into a border between two worlds.

This is my hope, I am an optimist—and pessimists are those who do not want comment on this, those are the people who are coming to terms with this, accepting an a priori thesis that Slovakia is already another world, some special eastern world, and thus will not comment on whatever is taking place there, restricting themselves to merely securing appropriate relations between states. This is a resignation.

My view is that we should not give up on each other.

As I welcome any criticism or alarm expressed by others from outside about the Czech Republic—always considering it seriously and reaching a conclusion whether it is justified or not—I think that in the same way we are entitled to comment on things which are taking place at our closest neighbors. I think that in the globally linked world we are living in, it is our duty to intervene in each other's matters. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Returns From Central Asian Tour

LD1103153795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After a technical stopover in Moscow, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec today returned to Prague from his week-long visit to four countries of Central Asia. [passage omitted]

Trade Minister Explains Purpose of Iran Trip

LD1003145595 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy will leave later today for a two-day visit to Iran. He briefed journalists on his visit at a news conference this morning to prevent, as he put it, any possible speculation in the media.

[Begin Dlouhy recording] This will be a standard, routine trip, during which the talks on restructuring the Iranian debt to the Czech Republic should be concluded. We will also try to sign a protocol between the two countries. I hope there are good prospects for this. I will be accompanied by neither businessmen nor any other representatives. There will be only two people from my ministry on the spot and two officials from the Prvni Brnenska machine works company, which is particularly interested in the (?Iranshaft) project. [end recording]

Report on Effect of Reforms Prepared for Summit

LD0903141395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 9 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Unemployment is expected to range between 3.5 and 4 percent this year, says the Czech Republic's national report for the Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development. The economic reform has caused a temporary decline in the real income of the population. According to the report, however, by 1992 the decline was halted and replaced by growth. Despite the fact that the level of real income is still lower than it was before the economic transformation, the trend toward a gradual growth of income is clear.

Klaus Questioned on BIS Services to Foreigners

AU1003210395 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 9 Mar 95 p 2

[Article by Andrea Kabelova: "Capek—The BIS Uses StB Agents and Provides Information to Foreign Politicians"]

[FBIS Translated Text]—Prague—Yesterday, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus refused to clearly answer the question raised by Deputy Miroslav Capek (Left Bloc) on whether the Security Information Service [BIS] has informed or is providing information to foreign-state representatives or bodies, or foreign political parties or movements, and whether BIS is currently using agents of the communist State Security [StB] to collecting information.

"In foreign relations, BIS cooperates with intelligence services according to the relevant laws and uses the services of people acting to its benefit on a voluntary and confidential basis. Regarding the obligation to protect these people, it is not possible to provide you with any more details," Klaus answered.

Capek suspects, because of articles in the Slovak press, that the secret service informed Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia—HZDS) about Ladislav Polka (HZDS), chairman of the Slovak Parliament Defense and Security Committee, working not only for the Italian secret service, but also for other intelligence services. Referring to Slovak media, Capek stated that, because of this information, Meciar did not appoint Polka as interior minister.

"BIS has allegedly also been using former State Security agents to obtain the aforementioned information, specifically one Mikulas Nadasi, a former employee of the Slusovice Agricultural combine, agent and staffer of the then 1st, 2d, and 11th State Security Administrations, and also of the Czech counterintelligence until 1990," Capek claims.

Klaus has not commented on any of these suspicions. "I believe it was because there is some truth to them. The prime minister could have denied it," Capek stated.

Although Capek asked yesterday for the parliamentary Commission for BIS to discuss his questions, its chairman, Vlastimil Doubrava (without political affiliation), said that the commission has not dealt with Capek's instigations.

Of course, Capek is convinced that, if the BIS informs foreign governments or politicians in this manner, it is a gross violation of the law on intelligence services. Therefore, he is now considering an interpellation to Klaus in this matter next week.

Reportage on Slovak-Hungarian Basic Treaty

Meciar Interviewed

LD1003203395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 10 Mar 95

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Martin Bartisek on 10 March; place not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bartisek] It appears that the negotiations with Hungary failed to make marked progress over the past few days. The two sides are currently using time to precisely define their positions. What is the Slovak side concentrating on at the moment? After all, delaying the completion of the final treaty will not make our position any easier.

[Meciar] If we consider that what is at issue is the interstate treaty, which is of importance also for the Slovak state—the treaty that is supposed to establish the principles of cooperation for years to come—then we do not want to commit an error that could become a burden for future generations or could make various interpretations possible. In this respect, it is exceptionally important to precisely define the treaty's content.

Only two questions are still disputed. The first one is the demand for autonomy. The second issue is giving more rights to minorities than is usual, or in other words, giving them rights that go beyond the framework of the agreement signed by our two states. Our position on this issue is identical with the position of other European states. If I may say so, other European countries support us on this issue. We do not wish to create a precedent that would make the political situation in other states more complicated. [passage indistinct]

The working group failed to reach an effective conclusion. One of the reasons was that experts, who should have been present on the Hungarian side, were not always there. That's why we elevated the work to the level of state secretaries. Today, I had quite a lengthy conversation with Prime Minister Horn, during which we agreed on specific steps to be taken tomorrow. I shall personally talk tomorrow to the leading politicians of the Hungarian Republic who are directly involved in this task in the foreign policy field.

[Bartisek] Jozef Sestak, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, left for Budapest last night for a further round of talks with the Hungarian side. He said that his talks with his Hungarian counterpart would be as long as necessary. Moreover, he has been given a broad political mandate, a mandate that is broad enough to make sure that a meeting between the prime ministers does not have to take place during the negotiating stage. What mandate is it? Is it really broad enough to make it possible for the state secretary to continue these talks?

[Meciar] Yes, it is. This morning, the state secretary briefed me about the talks and about the (?day's agenda). He will brief me again at 1300 hours. I have already been in touch with the foreign minister and with the Hungarian prime minister. We have contacted some embassies to ensure that views are exchanged on a regular basis.

There are many to whom the conclusion of this treaty matters. Everyone attaches exceptional importance to it. [passage indistinct]

Meciar, Horn Talk on Telephone

LD1003174495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with today's round of talks about the basic treaty between Slovakia and Hungary, held in Budapest, the prime ministers of the two countries, Vladimir Meciar and Guyla Horn, held a telephone conversation.

They discussed mutual coordination of specific steps which should lead toward the signing of the treaty by 20 March.

The premiers agreed that tomorrow Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk, and State Secretary Jozef Sestak will meet Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs and State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi. The venue and time of the meeting will be agreed upon later.

Hungarian Dignitaries Arrive

LD1103100395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0930 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, accompanied by Foreign Affairs State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi, arrived in Bratislava. Kovacs will talk with Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk about how to speed up the preparation of the Basic Treaty between the two countries.

Shortly after his arrival, the Hungarian guest was received by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

Schenk, Counterpart Comment

LD1103164195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The objective of today's talks on the basic interstate treaty between Slovakia and Hungary was to achieve certain political agreement on some as yet open issues.

This is what Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk said in a final statement after the talks today. He said our officials had suggested to their Hungarian partners to hold permanent talks of experts. These talks are to be held under the auspices of the two foreign ministers and are to open 12 March.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs made the above more specific by saying that during the talks, at which also Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar took part, the Hungarian side had agreed that a good basic treaty should be drafted, based on the observation of European norms.

Further Official Comment

LD1103220595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Slovak-Hungarian talks on the basic interstate treaty continued with yet another round in Bratislava today. [passage omitted]

Our editor Igor Skocek reports from the meeting, which took place at the office of the government.

[Skocek] Today's Bratislava talks on the interstate treaty have outlined the possibility for an agreement, but it is still necessary to make further political decisions on issues that remain open.

This was stated in a joint statement made shortly before 1300 by Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs and Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk, after almost three hours of talks with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

Juraj Schenk said the Slovak side believed that the process of drafting the treaty had a good chance to succeed and it was therefore necessary to intensify it. This was the reason why the Slovak officials suggested to the Hungarian guests to hold permanent experts' talks. The talks are to be held under the auspices of the two foreign ministers and are to open in Bratislava on 12 March. If the need be, both foreign ministers, or even the prime ministers of the Slovak Republic and Hungary, will join the talks in order to resolve particular issues.

After Juraj Schenk, Laszlo Kovacs took the floor. He said:

[Begin Kovacs recording, in Hungarian fading into Slovak translation] During our talks with the Slovak prime minister and foreign minister, we agreed that it was in the interest of both countries to conclude a good basic treaty. One of the preconditions is that we base the treaty on European norms. Guided by our effort to reach an agreement, we did not assess the experts' talks held so far since it is a well known fact that the assessments by the Slovaks and Hungarians differ. We focused on tackling unresolved issues. We did so at a point when time is running out.

A chance to reach an agreement became apparent during both of these talks. It also became obvious that there are certain issues that need further political decisions. The experts will take a break on 13 March and then the talks will continue in Budapest on 14 March.

We agreed to be very flexible on the agenda of the talks. The Slovak prime minister suggested that the two foreign ministers should directly monitor the talks. I said that Prime Minister Horn was willing—if the need be and if Prime Minister Meciar was ready for it—to meet Meciar in the second half of the week. Prime Minister Meciar said he was ready for the meeting. [end recording]

[Skocek] [passage omitted] I asked Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk for a brief interview.

[Begin recording] [Skocek] Minister, you met your Hungarian counterpart today. Has any progress been achieved when compared to Bratislava and yesterday's talks held between the state secretaries in Budapest?

[Schenk] Yes, there is a change. We managed to identify which definitions or problems are essential and which are not. There was even a change in the way we tackled some essential issues.

[Skocek] Did you take part in the talks between Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs' and Prime Minister Meciar?

[Schenk] Yes, the political discussion about open issues formed the core of these talks. It was inevitable since it was not possible to cut these Gordian knots at the level of experts any more. It was necessary to strive for a political agreement since no other solution is possible at present.

[Skocek] What steps will the Slovak side make next? Is the Slovak side ready for any compromise or is it to be a mutual compromise by the two sides?

[Schenk] There must be compromise by both sides. Of course, some compromises have already been made. Naturally, each side can only make compromises that are within the limits of its national and state interests. However, we believe that after today's discussion, the experts were given yet another stimulus and a new mandate, under which it will still be possible to tackle the unresolved issues.

[Skocek] Is there a chance that these problems will be resolved by 20 March, that is before the meeting to be held in Paris, and that the interstate treaty will be concluded?

[Schenk] Yes, we believe so. [end recording]

[Skocek] Jozef Sestak and Ferenc Somogyi, state secretaries of the two foreign ministries, who met on 10 March in Budapest were also present at today's talks. Asked whether the atmosphere was more favorable today, Jozef Sestak said:

[Begin Sestak recording] Well, on both sides there is really great willingness to come to an agreement. The Hungarian foreign minister came here today. Prime Minister Meciar received him today—is this not big enough proof of good political will? I am sure it is. [end recording]

Party Reaction

LD1203124495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Bratislava, expert talks are continuing at the time of our broadcast on the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty. Ildiko Nagy reports.

[Nagy] There have been reactions to yesterday's [11 March] Slovak-Hungarian foreign ministerial meeting by the National Council of Egyuetteles [Hungarian Coalition, Coexistence], and the Hungarian Civic Party's national board [ethnic Hungarian political parties in Slovakia], which discussed among other things the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty at a meeting this weekend.

Both stances state that an important requirement of European stability and rapprochement is resolving problems and settling relations, but this can only be done with a good basic treaty, a condition of which is that the minority question be settled in conformity with international agreements. Relations between the two states must fit into the system of norms for European interstate relations.

Egyuetteles considers it important that the two sides undertake contractual obligations to bring their legal systems in line with European norms. According to the Hungarian Civic Party, the educational, cultural, and other existing institutional systems of minorities—which should be as wide-ranging as possible—must be secured in concrete form.

At the same time, both stances emphasize that the agreements, contracts, and recommendations that regulate the legal status of the minorities on an international level, and which the two countries have accepted, must be incorporated as internal norms into the legal systems of the individual countries. Finally, they consider it an important requirement that a mutually recognized international control mechanism be developed to check full compliance with the basic treaty.

Presidents Welcome Treaty

LD1203141595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian and Slovak heads of state have reiterated that it is in the interests of both sides to have a basic treaty that is acceptable to both countries. Arpad Goncz and Michal Kovac also agreed that this is important also from the point of view of joining the institutions of a unified Europe. The two heads of state held talks in Copenhagen, where they are attending the world social summit.

Kovac Addresses Copenhagen Meeting

LD1203205795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 12 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Republic President Michal Kovac delivered an address at the meeting of 118 heads of states and governments which represented the culmination of the UN world summit on social development in Copenhagen.

He stressed that the only way to gradually eliminate many problems which have brought about backwardness and poverty is to help the birth and development of conditions for an independent economic development of the most backward regions for their adequate competitive ability on world markets, based on domestic resources.

Michal Kovac went on to say that the Slovak Republic, as a young state, is striving in its transformation process not only mechanically to take over well-tried systems, but to base itself on domestic resources as well.

In the next part of his address the Slovak president stressed that the success of development and integration of west and central Europe cannot ignore the need for safeguarding democratic development and overall prosperity, for example, of post-Soviet republics and, above all, Russia.

Russia's Lobov Arrives; Welcomed by Kozlik, Ducky

LD1303123795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 13 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Oleg Lobov, deputy prime minister and secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council, arrived today for a four-day official visit to Slovakia. He was welcomed at Bratislava airport by Deputy Prime Minister Sergej Kozlik and Economy Minister Jan Ducky.

The Russian guest will have talks with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and a number of ministers during the visit.

Meciar on Exports to Iran, Nuclear Station

LD1003221595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 10 Mar 95

[Regular Friday interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Martin Bartisek; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Bartisek] In the context of a visit by Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, does the government not intend to strengthen the income part of the budget by exporting special technology there?

[Meciar] No, it does not. First, the production capacity is not here any longer. Second, there are no markets for that. And to speak about intending to get involved in such trade, namely with Iran, is not responsible—neither as regards us, nor as regards our partners in Europe and in the world. We are aware that there is a certain tension between the United States and Iran. This is the limit beyond which our foreign policy cannot go. [passage omitted]

[Bartisek] The completion of the Mochovce nuclear power station continues to provoke the intense interest of our neighbors.

Prime Minister, you said that even if—I will put it simply—the West refuses to give us a loan to complete its construction, we would certainly complete it, regardless. In that case are we going to ask, for a change, the East to support us financially?

[Meciar] The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] has been asked to give a loan to the Slovak Republic. The documents were approved and signed by the previous government, but what we see is not pleasing.

At the same time, a number of West European countries and other countries told the Slovak Republic that they would finance it. The main sources for completing the construction are in Central Europe: both technical and financial ones. Technical documentation must come from the Russian Federation. The security systems are from the Federal Republic of Germany, from the Siemens company. Thus, if somebody wants to cast doubt on them, he must cast doubt on all similar power stations of a Western type. It is not that easy.

This is a very complicated complex of problems. For instance, the EBRD's conditions included an increase in energy prices of 29 percent by the end of March. If we were to do this, some companies would collapse and citizens would find themselves facing a further increase in prices.

This is why the government fights this, these agreed conditions. To claim that the EBRD is the only possible source of money is not correct, though we hold this bank in high esteem and our relations with it are very appropriate and the loans it gave the Slovak Republic are very good. [passage omitted]

SDL Criticizes Government 'Concentration of Power'

LD1103225195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] executive convened in Bratislava today. The executive expressed its concern over the results of the fifth parliamentary session. Peter Weiss justified these concerns in a telephone call to us.

[Begin Weiss recording] In our view, it is to the detriment of all that the government deputies supported almost none of the SDL proposals. These proposals were aimed at improving the welfare of workers and the socially weaker strata of our society. The proposals aimed at increasing the minimum wage and level of subsistence. This would have resulted in higher family benefits. Another proposal was to increase state contributions to the national health insurance. [passage omitted]

The SDL executive is disappointed by the fact that the deputies of the Association of Workers of Slovakia and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia did not support the proposals presented by the SDL deputies, even though these proposals were in line with their election manifestos.

The SDL executive also expressed its concern about the continuing concentration of power in the hands of the government coalition as reflected in the adoption of further laws giving more controlling powers to the office of the government and authorizing the government to dismiss the head of the Intelligence Service.

The SDL executive maintains that left-wing policy is only feasible in connection with democracy. The SDL executive will therefore oppose everything that will infringe on democracy.

The SDL denounced a repeated proposal by the Christian Democratic Movement to adopt a law on anticommunist resistance. The bill, as presented in its unchanged wording, would lead to a statement of collective guilt. [passage omitted] [end recording] (endall) 111730 kienbaum/rl 11/2253

ZRS Speaks Out Against NATO Membership

LD1203143395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 12 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Addressing the World Conference of Workers Parties and Labor Organizations in Banska Bystrica today, Jozef Mazar, spokesman for the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS], spoke out against Slovakia's NATO membership and in favor of Slovakia's neutrality.

In his speech devoted to the ZRS's foreign policy orientation, Mazar said that many attempted to make us believe it was necessary to join NATO. They do not tell us, though, what the alliance represents, what damage its activities have caused, what its aims are, and, above all, what would be the cost for Slovakia of NATO membership.

Mazar said that those people had already managed once to talk us into coupon privatization, and common people see now that this was the biggest robbery of all. [passage omitted]

Two Ministries Renamed; One New Ministry Set Up

LD1003183295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Council of the Slovak Republic today adopted an amendment to the law on the ministries and other central bodies of state administration. During the vote 77 deputies were present—76 voted in favor of the amendment and one deputy abstained.

According to the amendment, two ministries will carry new names—the Ministry of Transport, Posts, and Telecommunications and the Ministry of Education. There will also be a new Ministry of Construction and Public Works.

The office of the Government of the Slovak Republic was again included among the central bodies of state administration. A new body to join the list of these bodies is the newly set up Office for the Strategy of Social, Scientific, and Technological Development. The Office for Industrial Patents will be located in Banska Bystrica.

The amendment to the law on powers of these bodies will come into force on 1 April.

The last point on the agenda of the 5th session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic are questions and interpellations by deputies.

Hungarian-Slovak Treaty Talks Said Deadlocked

LD1003141195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Our Budapest correspondent has just been in touch with us. The point is that a news conference on the outcome of the talks between Hungarian and Slovak [foreign ministry] state secretaries on the basic treaty ended a little while ago at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Budapest. We are therefore going over to our correspondent Gregor Martin Papucsek.

[Papucsek] I am reporting from the premises of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry. In a news conference that ended a little while ago, it was announced there that the prime ministers of the two countries, Gyula Horn and Vladimir Meciar, today agreed that tomorrow or Saturday, Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovac will go to Bratislava where he will have talks with his Slovak counterpart Juraj Schenk.

This was announced at the news conference, which ended only a little while ago. The conference was attended by the two countries' state secretaries, Jozef Sestak and Ferenc Somogyi.

Their talks about the interstate basic treaty have once again reached a deadlock and this requires that decisions be made at a higher political level. There are still problems with the passages that deal with the guarantees for minorities and with the wording concerning other spheres of cooperation. These differences are of a political and conceptual nature, and that is why the foreign ministers will have to meet.

That is all from Budapest so far. There will be a more detailed report in the evening edition of Radiozurnal.

Differences Noted

LD1003172995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The state secrtaries for foreign affairs of Hungary and Slovakia have held talks on the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty in Budapest. A press briefing was held on the results achieved so far at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Istvan Kulcsar is on the line.

[Kulcsar] The press briefing ended a minute ago. The briefing was convened in a rather unexpected way—or, as the Slovak state secretary put it, unilaterally.

State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi said at the briefing that the results that had been achieved at the talks were less than realistically could have been expected. There are differences of views regarding both the text and the content and philosophy of the draft basic treaty. Somogyi also reacted to a statement by his negotiating partner, State Secretary Sestak, made in Bratislava after their latest talks. Somogyi said: It is not a good practice to send messages via the press when we are in permanent contact. He objected to Sestak's remark that Somogyi's mandate for talks is not satisfactory. Somogyi said: He has a mandate to complete talks on a good agreement and to submit it to the governments and not to step back from European standards on minority matters. None of the Hungarian negotiating partners could make a proposal like this.

Ferenc Somogyi informed Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn about the talks. Horn phoned Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar this morning and agreed with him that Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs would travel to Bratislava on 11 March to continue talks.

Sestak confirmed that the Slovak side is not pleased with the outcome of the talks either. He blamed the Hungarian side for several things, among them the unilateral convening of the press briefing. He repeated that it was the Slovak side's honest intention to sign a basic treaty but, in his view, the Hungarian side would like to go beyond European standards—or, as he put it: This is a legal document and Hungary, so to speak, would like to include passages of literature in it. Finally, he stressed that Slovakia would receive the Hungarian foreign minister, who could continue the talks with his Slovak counterpart that began in Strasbourg. Prime Minister Meciar will also receive Laszlo Kovacs. This fact is also proof of their good intention to try to complete the preparation of the basic treaty by 20 March, Slovak State Secretary Sestak said.

Horn: Treaties Possible If Rights Noted

LD1003213395 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Gyula Horn is still confident that it will be possible to sign basic treaties with Romania and Slovakia but he can only conceive basic treaties that make reference to international agreements on minority rights. This was expounded in a letter Gyula Horn has written to leaders of the European Union who earlier urged Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary to sign the basic treaties before the European Stability Conference opens in Paris on 20 March.

Government Takes Strict Economic Measures

LD1203191895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At its extraordinary session today, the government decided to take strict economic measures. A report with sound bites compiled by Judit Laszlo and Kata Peli Nagy arrived a few minutes ago.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] The National Bank of Hungary will devalue the forint by nine percent as of tomorrow [13 March]. The decision has been made with the consent of the government. At the same time, a new exchange rate policy will be introduced. The essence of this is that the exchange rate of the forint will be adjusted weekly [as heard], announcing it beforehand. The forint will be devalued by 1.9 percent every month in April, May, and June. During the rest of the year the devaluation will be maximum 1.3 percent per month. By making this decision, the government intends to achieve an increase in exports and a restriction in imports. As a result of the two effects, an improvement in the external balance [of payments] is expected.

The chairman of the National Bank of Hungary said the following about the full scale of devaluation expected this year and its effect on inflation.

[Georgy Suranyi] As regards the full extent of devaluation, according to our calculations, the maximum extent of devaluation is about 26-27 percent. It might be less, but not really more. Inflation will be higher than included in the economic program for 1995. According to present estimates, the inflation will be within the range of 24-26 percent. We hope that by the end of the year it will be closer to 20 than to 25 percent.

[Correspondent] As of 20 March, an eight percent duty surcharge will be imposed on imports in foreign trade and private imports of goods. The measure will be valid until the middle of 1997. At the same time, the government fulfills its obligation to announce [the measures] undertaken in international agreements. The refund of the surcharge on imports of machines and equipment for investment purposes can be claimed later. The obligation to hand over foreign currency [to the National Bank of Hungary in return for its forint equivalent] will be abolished for companies. Companies can keep their authorized foreign currency revenues in separate accounts in Hungary.

Finance Minister Lajos Bokros has announced that a further round of talks will begin with experts of the International Monetary Fund. They will be informed of today's decisions. Bokros also said that the present decision will probably not lead to the results that can be expected by the IMF, but could significantly improve the deficit of state finances. You can hear Lajos Bokros:

[Bokros] If the present processes continue, we can even get into a situation where the total deficit of state finances could reach 10 percent of the GDP. This cannot be responsibly tolerated by the government. This is why these measures are necessary. As a result of these measures, the deficit will drop by 170 billion forints. By these and other measures, we will be able to achieve a drop in the GDP deficit level, which is set at 10 percent, to six or seven percent.

[Correspondent] The measures outlined so far are accompanied by the restriction of domestic demand. This means the restriction of wages at budgetary institutions and state companies. There will be significant cutbacks in material and investment expenditures of central budgetary institutions. Remuneration and severance pay for public employees and civil servants will also be reviewed. Serious redundancies can also be expected. The number of teachers in higher education will be reduced, and tuition fees will be introduced as of September 1995. This is expected to be 2,000 forints per month.

Social provisions will also change. Family allowances will cease to be a civic right. As of 1 June, childcare allowances [granted to children over three years of age] will cease to exist, and childcare support [granted to children age three and under] will be given only to those who are entitled to this for social reasons. Family allowances will also be means tested, made dependent on net wages per person.

Social Welfare Minister Resigns

LD1203193195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 12 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The government has devalued the forint by a further 9 percent. [passage omitted]

Minister of Welfare Pal Kovacs left the government session before it ended, saying that following these decisions he does not consider himself to be a government member any more.

Bela Katona, minister supervising the secret services, did not agree with the government decisions either and he too held out the prospect of his resignation. [passage omitted]

SZDSZ Unwilling To Fill Ministerial Posts

LD1303110295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 13 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Alajos Dornbach, chairman of the National Executive of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], the SZDSZ does not wish to fill ministerial posts that might become vacant. Welfare Minister Pal Kovacs announced his resignation at the meeting of the government yesterday [12 March]; Bela Katona, minister supervising the secret services, also held out the prospect of his resignation.

Regarding the government decision, Alajos Dornbach said the measures surprised everyone, for they were not preceded by a debate. The SZDSZ politician said about the 9 percent devaluation of the forint that by this step, the government is having to make up for the negligence of the previous government.

Horn Interviewed on Economic Measures

LD1203225195 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 12 Mar 95

[Studio interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by an unidentified announcer—from "The Week" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Prime Minister Gyula Horn is the studio guest of "The Week". Good evening.

[Horn] Good evening.

[Announcer] Mr. Prime Minister, according to our information, Minister of Welfare Pal Kovacs could not accept today's social measures and left before the end of the government session, saying: From this moment on, I do not consider myself to be a member of the government. Is this how it happened?

[Horn] Yes, that is how it happened, but I hope he will change his mind. We will talk to him ...

[Announcer, interrupting] Is this an explicit resignation by Minister of Welfare Pal Kovacs?

[Horn] You can interpret it that way, but I think that it is more important that we be able to agree with him. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] "The Week" also has information to the effect that, following the meeting of the government, Bela Katona, the minister supervising the secret services, expressed the opinion that he does not agree with the way the decisions were proposed—and he, too, held out the prospect of his resignation.

[Horn] He did not explain his consideration thusly, but did say that he did not agree with some of the decisions. Well, let me add that, naturally, nobody made today's decision happily. The point is that the country's financial situation has become untenable. I have to stress that these measures are not improvised measures. We have held lengthy, several-week-long consultations with both domestic and international expert circles on the situation that has evolved. There has been agreement that the present situation cannot be maintained any longer. We have to change it. If we do not change it, the country will drift not only toward insolvency but toward state bankruptcy. And this is equally applicable to our links with international financial institutions and our relations with foreign partners. [passage omitted]

In addition to laying the foundation for economic growth and thus creating new jobs, all today's measures, almost without exception, comply with the principle of social justice and equal bearing of burdens. As regarding sickness benefits, family allowances, and other social measures, we are of the view that those in need have to be supported from state resources. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Have any of the members of the government expressed disagreement with these measures?

[Horn] No. There was agreement, with the exception of the two members of the government mentioned earlier. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mr. Prime Minister, will the social restrictions announced today lead to further tension between the National Federation of Trade Unions [MSZOSZ] and the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]?

[Horn] I understand the trade unions. However, we, the government, should also be understood. I would like to have a continuous dialogue with the trade unions. The government has followed this path in the past too.

[Announcer] Are you of the view that the tension, the conflict, will not increase further?

[Horn] Look, the conflict might deepen further, but this is not at all extraordinary in a country that is in a crisis. Every group, every interest-representation organization, is trying to enforce its own will. I consider this to be a natural phenomenon. However, dialogue must be continued. This is one of the issues.

The other thing I consider very important is that, up to now, we have taken into consideration the interests of both the employees and the employers to a large extent. However, antagonistic conflicts have very often developed between them. This was the case, for example, with the planned amendment to the Labor Code.

The government has tried to ease these conflicts, unsuccessfully. We have proposed concluding a political agreement. So far this has been rejected by both sides. I hope that in connection with the present decision, as was the case this afternoon, dialogue with both sides of the Interest Coordination Council will continue.

[Announcer] It seems that, in the first moments, the Interest Coordination Council received these measures with tolerance.

[Horn] I would not say this. This was not a discussion; only a briefing. There were a lot of questions, and we answered them. I hope they will understand the country's interests. [passage omitted] I hope common sense will win out. And one more thing: As HSP chairman, I can say that we do not intend to terminate the agreement with the social and social-democratic platforms of the MSZOSZ. Let us sit down, hold talks, and discuss what to do, but only within the boundaries we decided today. We are ready to hold talks on it, but we cannot give up, reject, our program, because otherwise we will not be able to improve the country's situation. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Are you not afraid that following the social restrictions, these tensions might be taken to the street? [passage omitted]

[Horn] I very much hope, on the basis of past experiences, that we have a wise, maturely thinking society. It was very difficult for us too, to take these inevitable decisions. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] It means that you are not afraid of strikes, a wave of strikes.

[Horn] I am not afraid of it, and I also hope that they will not take place. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mr. Prime Minister, you have had hard working days this week in foreign policy too. According to recommendations by the EU, the Hungarian-Slovak and Hungarian-Romanian basic treaties should be signed by 20 March. [passage omitted] Mr. Prime Minister, the opposition is already talking of Trianon in connection with a possible signing ceremony in Paris.

Let us go ahead one by one. Will there be a Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty to be signed?

[Horn] There is a chance for it. Expert talks will continue tomorrow. It seems we have managed to come to an agreement in every important question, except one ...

[Announcer, interrupting] What is this?

[Horn] The No. 1201 recommendation of the Council of Europe ...

[Announcer, interrupting] Which would lay down the rights of minorities.

[Horn] Not the rights of minorities. Only one of the recommendations in connection with minorities.

[Announcer] Does this mean that the Slovaks would not like it if this European recommendation was integrated into its binding legal system?

[Horn] Our view is that European norms are the minimum, and they should be included in the bilateral basic treaties. Only one question was left open with the talks with Romania, too. Expert talks continue with them as well. There is a chance that ...

[Announcer, interrupting] What is this single question?

[Horn] The same issue of the No. 1201 recommendation. There is a chance that it will be finished by the Paris conference.

What I consider very important is that since we renewed talks on the basic treaties, the matter of the basic treaty and, in the framework of this, the situation of Hungarians abroad have been given great emphasis. The fact that talks on the basic treaties have brought the western public's attention to minority problems is a very important achievement.

[Announcer] Why are you so optimistic, for this No. 1201 recommendation ...

[Horn, interrupting] If I were not optimistic, I would not make efforts. I am usually optimistic, because I usually say that there is a way out of every situation, if one acts consciously.

The other thing I consider important is the West's expectation. We can say that this is almost a precondition for a country's admission to the EU.

The third thing is that the conclusion of the basic treaties would create a basis on which a whole network of bilateral agreements could be built; and would create a point of reference for us, which we could continuously use for representing legitimate demands of Hungarians abroad in a more powerful way both in bilateral relations and at international forums. I consider this to be very useful, even if a basic treaty does not solve every problem in any relation. [passage omitted]

Trade Union Officials on Economic Measures

LD1203233895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 12 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Reacting to the government decision [on economic and social matters] on behalf of the Cooperation Forum of Trade Unions, Endre Szabo said the measures might have unforeseeable consequences. According to Szabo, the situation of the budgetary sector is particularly alarming. This trade union leader considers only one fact encouraging: that the government is still ready to hold talks on the extent of certain measures.

At the same time, Sandor Nagy, chairman of the largest trade union federation, considers the curbing of budget expenditures and the forint devaluation inevitable. However, this Socialist Party deputy is of the view that it is doubtful whether the increase of burdens on the most needy can be kept within a boundary.

Party Official on Economic Restructuring Problems

AU1103165695 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Mar 95 p 11

[Interview with SZDSZ chairman Ivan Peto by Istvan Tanacs; place and date not given: "Society Should Not Be Misled"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Tanacs] One often hears that many people would like capitalism here, but that they do not like the capitalists. If one takes a look at who obtained property and on the basis of what achievements, does one have any reason to like the capitalists? Or does one have any reason to be ashamed for not being competitive in this field and according to these rules?

[Peto] While the coalition justifiably criticizes itself for the slow pace of privatization, a huge restructuring is taking place in Hungary very quickly. As a result, criminality and acceptable shrewdness get mixed up. As early as in its program published in 1989, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] wrote that there would be a lot of disgusting things in the course of restructuring, things that we would not welcome but are regarded as inevitable. Anybody who is not a beneficiary of the social differentiation today and anybody who at least preserves his social sensitivity cannot even look out the window of his flat today because he only encounters injustice and unfairness everywhere. It is the obligation of a politician or a political party to make society operational in an acceptable way.

[Tanacs] Many people question the direction of current processes. While the state pretends not to like the black economy, it cooperates with it secretly, hoping that capital will accumulate quicker there and thus we will more quickly reach the phase in which the market will regulate itself. Instead, hired killers come here in the oil business and they regulate the market. Where are we really heading for?

[Peto] The oil scandal and the appearance of similar affairs are not phenomena that necessarily accompany restructuring. Nor is secret cooperation with the black economy. There are possibilities of deciding freely where to draw the limit to regarding such phenomena as unavoidable but inevitable in the course of restructuring. Many things regarding this were decided at the time of the previous government. For example, certain people received credits, people who we knew from the outset would not use the funds to set up economic units. This government has the chance to take efficient steps in this matter. We must be aware, however, that this action will also harm strong interests. For example, suppressing the black trade would seriously harm the poor strata of the society, who find the circle of untaxed and cheap products essential.

[Tanacs] Hungarian employees are often told that they are not competitive and that this is why they earn so little. Meanwhile, the employee sees that he is, nevertheless, competitive—because raw materials come from Germany in trucks, he processes them the same way as his German counterpart would do, and both the transport expenses and the owner's profits can be saved because of his wages. He still has to feel happy to have a job at all. Is this the proper path to our integration into the European economy?

[Peto] The countries of the Far East that are now in the forefront did not start by creating the most developed technology by themselves. They achieved their current status by integrating into the economy of the developed countries in some way. They started producing better-quality products, and only started their individual activity after some time. I regard this integration as an advantage rather than a disadvantage. Hopefully, a consolidated Hungarian economy will not manufacture goods as commission work for countries that no longer manufacture such goods. [passage omitted]

[Tanacs] Many people like the SZDSZ for its spiritual power and broad outlook. At the same time, many people have ambivalent feelings toward the party. About the coalition, many people thought it would be better for the party to use its power for the benefit of the entire society, to serve everyone's goals. Symbolically speaking, there is a long train here now that cannot climb the hill. It needs help. The SZDSZ says the hill is too steep and the train is too long; only half of this train can be helped up the hill.

[Peto] I do not see it that way. The SZDSZ is not deliberately planning to cut off part of this train. The SZDSZ only speaks more openly about what I mentioned as social differentiation, while others are deceiving society and perhaps even themselves.

FIDESZ Sees Desire To Dissolve Ethnic Bodies

LD1003153595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], it is now only the prime minister who would like to conclude the Hungarian-Slovak and Hungarian-Romanian basic treaties. The party's politicians believe that certain government circles are too greatly perturbed by the strong interest representation of Hungarians abroad. Levente Suekosd reports from the party's press briefing.

[Suekosd] It seems that neither Western politicians nor our neighbors would like the Hungarian-Romanian and the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaties to be concluded, FIDESZ foreign affairs spokesman Zsolt Nemeth said. In his view, political forces in Hungary and interest representation organizations of Hungarians abroad are both opposed to concluding the basic treaties. I quote: It is only Gyula Horn who is obsessed with the treaties. According to Zsolt Nemeth, the reason for the haste is that certain Hungarian political circles are too greatly perturbed by the organized, united acts of the Hungarian communities abroad and, therefore, their final aim is the disruption [megbontas] and dissolution [megszuentetes] of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR; in Romanian, UDMR] and the Hungarian [parliamentary] coalition of Slovakia. If the basic treaties are signed, that will happen, Zsolt Nemeth said.

According to this FIDESZ foreign affairs expert, this would start a destabilization process in the region and Hungary would be exposed to a serious flood of refugees.

It was also announced at the press briefing that FIDESZ will no longer participate in the parliament's subcommittee dealing with the basic treaties, because they see no chance for substantial work there.

Local Election Results Analyzed

95CH0158B Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 21 Jan 95 pp 81, 83-84, 89

[Article by Endre Babus: "Local Election Results; Inverted Pyramid"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, in local politics, the Association of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] has closer ties even to the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP] than to its former natural ally, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. Among other things, this is what appears in the unofficial final results of the December municipal elections. At times, the data suggest bizarre political marriages.

Essentially, an inverted pyramid of power was constructed from the mandates of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] in the course of the 1994 elections. This is one of the facts revealed by the partial results of the elections of local governments that the National Election

Bureau of the Interior Ministry [BM OVI] made available to HETI VILAGGAZDASAG five weeks after the 11 December election (at the end of last week). The Socialists acquired the greatest number of positions at the highest level of politics, in the parliament—while, going down the ladder of power, the proportion of "red mandates" becomes increasingly smaller. While in the parliament the MSZP has a majority of 54 percent, in the county and Budapest assemblies, as well as in the representative bodies of towns with county status and of Budapest districts, the groups under the red carnation have a relative majority of 32-33 percent, and in the local governments of towns with a population between 10,000 and 50,000, 27-28 percent. (The overwhelming majority of smaller municipalities is party-neutral.)

A similar tendency seems to manifest itself among the principal political representatives of individual districts. While in the Parliament 85 percent of representatives from individual election districts are members of the MSZP, in county assemblies, two-thirds of the presidents are (HETI VILAGGAZDASAG, 14 January 1995); and in the Budapest districts, in towns with county status and in medium-size towns, 21-23 percent. Thus, in constructing the inverted pyramid of Socialist cadres, the voters apparently followed the reasoning: "The further away the Socialists are, the better they are for us, but in local politics, it is advisable to exercise caution when allowing old 'drivers' back."

The unofficial results of municipal elections show that in the majority of the 22 towns with county status, in 15 of them, the MSZP finished first, similarly to the already-published data of county assemblies and the Budapest districts. For instance, the Socialists were able to win in Kecskemet, a former stronghold of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]; and they single-handedly pocketed 52 and 46 percent of the city mandates, respectively, in Dunaujvaros and in Debrecen. The right-wing coalition finished first in three county seats—Veszprem, Szeged, and Szekesfehervar—acquiring 55 percent of the mandates in the latter. In another two towns, Szekszard and Sopron, the MSZP and the conservative bloc ended in a draw, while in Hodmezovasarhely and Eger, an allegedly party-neutral civic alliance defeated all of the parties.

As far as the results of the SZDSZ are concerned, in towns with county status, as well as in Budapest (HETI VILAGGAZDASAG, 17 December 1994), the party's situation seems to be highly contradictory. The Free Democrats can regard it a success that in 30 percent of large cities the voters elected an SZDSZ mayor to head the local government, and in another 10 percent, a mayor who also had the backing of the SZDSZ. However, they have had to realize that the same voters practically "forgot" to sent SZDSZ representatives to the local parliaments. Compared to 1990, the number of SZDSZ representatives was reduced to one-half on average, which can make the position of "lonely" Free Democrat mayors very tenuous. However, this phenomenon is not unique to Free Democrats. In the next four years, in a number of cities, the local "conductor" will have to direct an orchestra consisting of his political opponents. In more than half of the towns with county status (for instance: Bekescsaba, Debrecen, Dunaujvaros, Kaposvar, Kecskemet, Miskolc, Szolnok, Tatabanya), the mayor and the largest party group come from opposing political forces.

In the majority of the 162 municipalities—disregarding the 22 towns with county status and the 23 Budapest districts—the Socialists won. In 43 of the towns with a population between 10,000 and 50,000—among them, several crisis areas (Dorog, Hatvan, Kazincbarcika, Keszthely, Komlo, Komarom, Mosonmagyarovar, Oroshaza, Oroszlany, Ozd, Satoraljaujhely), the MSZP won. Moreover, in Gyongyos, Mezotur, Puspokladany, Sarbogard, Tiszaujvaros, and Varpalota, the MSZP will be present in the local parliament with a relative majority of approximately 40-50 percent, close to their proportion in the National Assembly. The conservative blocs that were organized everywhere with the MDF-Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] duo, were victorious in 27 towns, including some historical municipalities (Baja, Balassagyarmat, Cegled, Godollo, Papa, Sarospatak, Sarvar, Vac). The Free Democrats can set up the largest parliamentary group in 14 municipalities, for example, in the archiepiscopal seat Kalocsa, as well as in Koszeg and Kisvarda, towns that exemplify the country's regional differences. Only in a few places was a right-wing party able to triumph individually: the FIDESZ in Gyula and Karcag, the MDF in Bonyhad, and the FKGP in Kiskoros, while the KDNP lost all on its own. A purely government coalition won in three municipalities (Paks, Balatonfured, Szeghalom), and a "cross-coalition" in Kunszentmarton (Fidesz-MSZP) and Sarkad (SZDSZ-MDF-KDNP-FIDESZ). In a few of the remaining towns, the parties with the best results ended up in the first place in a draw, while in 12 municipalities (for instance, in Esztergom, Kiskunhalas, Nagyatad, Nagykallo, Siklos, and Szerencs), the strongest group in town is not a party group (for instance, in Nagykata it is the local sports association).

The political map drawn as a consequence of the elections to local governments proves that local party organizations do not hasten to copy the alliances of the national party centers. For instance, it is striking that in the majority of medium-sized cities, in 36 instances, the MDF and the KDNP allied themselves with the FKGP, and only to a lesser degree with the two parties' new strategic ally, FIDESZ (24). Much more successfully were they able to sever the capillaries binding the two former "natural allies" together: Of the 107 medium-sized towns, the "oranges" [FIDESZ—an allusion to the FIDESZ publication MAGYAR NARANCS] "mated" with the SZDSZ only in seven, and only 22 mandates arose from the match. This essentially means that today the FIDESZ has appreciably more ties to the FKGP in local politics than to the other Hungarian member of the Liberal Internationale.

Concurrently with the audacious verbal battles between Orban and Torgyan, in December the "oranges" and the Smallholders joined forces in 18 towns (together with the MDF and the KDNP), and this cooperation resulted in a total of 85 common mandates. (This trend was also manifest in towns with county status: FIDESZ formed a coalition with the FKGP in five cities and with the SZDSZ only in three.)

Although in national and county politics the center right parties (MDF, KDNP, FIDESZ) generally consider the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] objectionable, according to the election results, locally there seems to be a very intensive connection between Csurka's party and the two former government parties. In Budapest and in the counties only the FKGP was able to transform the MIEP into a political factor (by setting up a joint list of candidates); in one or another Budapest district and town with county status (districts XVI and XXIII, Szekszard, and Pecs) the local MDF and KDNP organizations were also prepared to cooperate with the radical right-wing party. Among the smaller towns, in another nine places, "pro-Antall" and "anti-Antall" forces acquired another 52 mandates, and as a consequence, in the next four years, MIEP, as a member of the strongest local faction, can exert a direct influence on the operation of the local governments in Budakeszi, Cegled, Nyirbator, Pomaz, and Sarospatak.

Incidentally, Nyirbator is the only town where the leadership of FIDESZ was unable to enforce its directive discrediting MIEP. From now on, the "oranges" will conduct joint politics with Csurka-followers in the victorious party coalition.

There is no example of a similar political curiosity in any of the towns with a population larger than 10,000. In smaller towns, however, a few political marriages were established that can hardly be reconciled with central party policies. According to the unofficial election results of the BM OVI, 13 of the total 120 mandates from small municipalities were acquired by the MSZP-Labor Party formation. But in Kiskore, for example, the SZDSZ-MSZP-Labor Party "great coalition" resulted in nine mandates, and even Dombegyhaza, a town of 2,500 in Bekes County, sent an SZDSZ-Labor Party representative.

Among political forces outside the parliament, the Labor Party, which had the best results, acquired six of the 3,200 mayoral positions (all of them in municipalities with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants); and in the representative bodies in county seats, they won 21 mandates, five of which came from Salgotarjan, which counts as the stronghold of the orthodox left. Among the rest of the small parties, the Agrarian Alliance [ASZ] secured five mayoral posts, and the United Smallholders Party [EKGP] and the Entrepreneurs' Party [VP] one each.

Of the 3,500 possible mandates from municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants, the ASZ won 15, the EKGP and VP 14 each, and the Hungarian Socialist Democratic Party seven. Moreover, the financially exceptionally-well-stacked Republic Party, which had conducted a campaign with huge posters and television spots, had to make do with 18 mandates of its own. Imre Pozsgay's party produced even slimmer results: Beyond the six representatives, the greatest accomplishment of the National Democratic Alliance was the acquisition of three representatives in the Pecs city council, together with the KDNP and the MIEP.

Government Role in HungarHotel Affair Detailed

95CH0158A Budapest MAGYAR NARANCS in Hungarian 19 Jan 95 p 17

[Article by Laszlo Szily: "The Bellboy Cuts In"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For a long time it was incomprehensible why the four-year process of privatization of the HungarHotels hotel chain made such waves, considering that it was not a very large item—although the answer is basically simple: This was the first time economic and political interest groups supporting the new regime were able to flex their muscles. As Istvan Tompe, former managing director of the State Property Agency [AVU], aptly put it: Privatization is where the reorganization of pressure groups takes place.

The privatization of the hotel chain moved into the forefront last autumn, as the decision drew closer. And then it grew and grew, like the dumpling in the fairy tale, until it became one of the greatest scandals involving the new government. Nine candidates competed for the package of shares that amounted to 51 percent of HungarHotels, a chain consisting of 15 hotels. The invitation for bids was issued by AVU during the tenure of the previous government, but after the coordinating meeting in August, the new coalition also gave its blessing to the matter. After three rounds, the Dallas firm American General Hospitality (AGH) made the best bid, ahead of the Japanese Intercontinental hotel corporation. This is when Social Insurance entered the picture: It wanted to acquire HungarHotels as part of the 300-billion-forint [Ft] property package from the state to which it was entitled. It was said by many—among others, the British Financial Times—that due to lobbying by the Social Insurance, in the course of the bidding, the property agency requested the U.S. firm, which had already placed the highest bid, to further raise the buying price.

The last offer by AGH was $64 million; that of the AVU $66.5 million. After some wrangling the deal was made: The majority interest in HungarHotels can be acquired by AGH for $57.5 million, but the AVU takes the Budapest Hotel, appraised at $9 million, out of the 15-member chain.

Horn Enters the Ring

On the day after the decision, Gyula Horn ordered an investigation. Both foreign and Hungarian sources saw this step as having a potential to seriously harm the

Hungarian economy, shatter the trust of foreign investors, and slacken the pace of privatization—which is hardly swift as it is. No one doubted the prime minister's right to examine the decision, but the after-the-fact revision of an already-concluded contract does not count as a "comme il faut" [French: "proper"] step in business.

After the 23 December cabinet meeting it was announced that the Government Review Board [KEI] headed by Sandor Rubicsek did not find any corruption or other illegal actions, but it saw a possibility to achieve a "considerably more favorable" selling price. At the same time, the government requested the justice ministry to investigate by 12 January whether an appraisal of the hotel chain should have taken place before the invitation for bids was issued. By this time it was evident that the chair of Ferenc Bartha, government commissioner for privatization, was very insecure.

Giving in to the government's pressure, on 4 January the AVU raised the purchase price of HungarHotels to $67 million—and at the same time, it put the Budapest Hotel back into the package. As it was to be expected, the AGH did not accept the increased offer, because it was almost identical to the one they had already refused in December. The final blow to privatization was dealt by the 12 January cabinet meeting. Namely the cabinet—pointing out, among other things, the missed appraisal—suggested to the by-then-completely-bewildered AVU, that it declare the bidding invalid. After the cabinet meeting, it was also announced that Ferenc Bartha was leaving his post with mutual understanding. At the press briefing, which was reminiscent of numbing times, cabinet spokesman Andras Toth announced that the plans for utilizing HungarHotels will be developed by a "supercommittee"—consisting of the finance minister, the minister of industry and trade, and the presidents of the Hungarian Tourist Association, the Chamber of Tourism, and the Hotel Association—with the task of developing the plans for the utilization of the hotel corporation.

Toth also explained that utilization did not necessarily mean privatization. Considering that, with the exception of the finance minister, the members of the supercommittee were openly against selling HungarHotels as one unit (moreover, some were even against privatization altogether), it is not at all certain that the first privatization transaction of the Horn government will be an oft-quoted example of acceleration in economy textbooks.

The Principal Players

The privatization of the hotel corporation was made impossible by the steady machinations of innumerable political and economic interest groups. However, we cannot understand their activities without a knowledge of the three strikingly different privatization plans.

The strategy of the AVU, with the blessing of the government, was to sell as one unit. According to the AVU, it would have been a mistake to pick out a few well-established Budapest hotels, because the majority of the provincial links of the chain were impossible to sell by themselves; were in need of urgent renovation and, in the absence of an instant injection of capital, would soon lose their value.

The ministry of industry and trade and the middle management of the hotel corporation lobbied for selling the hotels individually. This group argued that if it was possible to sell the Duna Intercontinental Hotel alone for more than $50 million, it would be a sin to peddle all 15 hotels away for $57.5 million. The "piecemealers" and the journalists supporting them conveniently forgot to add that the $57.5 million meant only a 51-percent interest in the corporation.

Two foreign participants also campaigned for taking the chain apart. After losing its old hotel, Intercontinental began eyeing the Forum Hotel. Incidentally, the Japanese firm entered a bid for the entire chain, as well, but it fell behind with its $45 million offer. As far as we know, the other lobbyist for piecemeal sales was the German Dorin hotel corporation: They allegedly wanted to buy Hotel Flamenco. Several of our informants who have an interest in the transaction unanimously thought that Dorin was supported by Istvan Horvath, former ambassador to Bonn and personal counselor of Gyula Horn. Horvath denies the allegation.

According to people who support the third plan, the hotel chain should not be privatized at all. This group obviously includes the Social Insurance, Hungarian Tourism Association, and National Tourism Office [OIH]. The latter is operating within the ministry of industry, which is also in charge of the affair, and is led by Deputy State Secretary Tamas Schagrin. In a radio interview Bartha suggested that the OIH would also like to take over the entire chain, and the profit earned by the hotels would be distributed yearly by the National Tourism Fund. The former government commissioner's opinion about this idea was that HungarHotels could remain a national corporation, but money should not be withdrawn from it, because without development the chain, which currently produces a yearly taxable profit of approximately Ft400 million, would lose its value.

Laszlo Mate, vice-chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the party's former treasurer, also spoke (It was he who between 1990 and 1994 raised the money necessary for the survival of the Socialist Party, which was financially at rock bottom). "I basically agree with what Gyula Horn did," Mate said about the HungarHotels affair. The former treasurer also admitted that he would like to participate in the cabinet committee of privatization.

Consequences

One of the participants in the bidding for HungarHotels who asked to remain unnamed emphasized, in reply to our question, that he has not seen such a clean and regular privatization case in a long time, where "rules were followed very strictly." The expert pointed out that the $57.5 million was the market price of majority interest in the hotel chain. All of the relevant major firms were invited to enter bids. Thus, the $120 million Italian offer and the $240 million Swiss offer aired by NEPSZABADSAG seems to be deceptive even without knowing the details. But this is water under the bridge, because the first round was won by the lobbyists. The establishment of a supercommittee consisting of their representatives effectively means that the government took the control of privatization out of the hands of the property agency.

On the day Bartha was given the boot, the index of the Budapest Stock Exchange fell 66 points.

Pyongyang Protests U.S. Stand on Polish Mission

WS1303134795 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Mar 95 p 16

["Letter to the editor" from an unidentified spokesman for the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Pyongyang; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] The United States and its satellite forces are currently loudly voicing the issue of the withdrawal of the Polish mission from the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission [NNSC], conveying the false impression that we have violated the Armistice Agreement and international law.

The postulate for the Polish mission thus far present in NNSC is a consequence of activities undertaken by the United States, which has systematically violated and broken the Armistice Agreement and the work of its agency in Korea. (...) In June 1956, the United States resorted to force to expel an NNSC Supervisory Group that was established according to points 40 and 43 of Article 2 of the Armistice Agreement from the zone on its side, and—in June 1957—unilaterally annulled Article 13, which canceled the fundamental objective of the NNSC on the prohibition of bringing in military personnel and tactical materials from outside Korea. (...) In reality, NNSC has been existing only formally, without undertaking any action.

Moreover, in March 1991, the United States replaced the chief U.S. representative in the Military Armistice Commission [MAC] with a "puppet" general of the South Korean Army [armia poludniowkoreanska], who was not a delegate of any of the signatories of the Armistice Agreement and does not have adequate qualifications, thus the operations of MAC, which is the basic agency of armistice supervision, were paralyzed.

All action directed at annulling and violating the agreements was carried out unilaterally and without any consultation with us. (...)

Therefore, in April of last year, we came forth with the suggestion of entering into a dialogue on the issue of establishing a stable system guaranteeing peace on the Korean Peninsula, and—to implement the process—we took steps of our own initiative to withdraw our military mission from MAC.

In light of the fact that the DPRK and China had completely withdrawn their military missions from MAC, the agency that justified Polish participation and was established on the basis of the agreement ceased to exist.

We thought the Polish side would act accordingly with the new situation, but our expectations were unfulfilled. The DPRK Government was thus forced to take action so as to suspend the legal mandate of the NNSC, into which we invited Poland when signing the Armistice Agreement in July 1953.

This also refers to the current unproductive situation, justifying the postulate to withdraw the Polish mission from the NNSC. The commission is currently not carrying out any operations; its members only eat and sleep.

If there is anything to be done, it is only playing the role of protecting and justifying the erroneous stance of the United States, which is trying to maintain the shameful "Cold War" system. (...)

The issue of withdrawing the Polish mission from NNSC is an unavoidable postulate, indispensable for the establishment of a system for guaranteed peace on the Korean Peninsula. (...)

[Signed] Spokesman for the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Foreign Ministry Reply to NNSC Mission Report

WS1003121595 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Mar 95 p 24

["Letter to the editor" from Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesman Krzysztof Sliwinski, in response to referent article, and reply from Krzysztof Darewicz, author of referent report: "The Price of Neglecting Pyongyang"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In reference to a report by Krzysztof Darewicz from Beijing, I wish to take the opportunity of offering an explanation and supplying several important facts pertaining to the issue of the withdrawal of Polish observers from the demilitarized zone on the Korean peninsula.

In January 1993, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] issued a demarche in protest to the eviction of the Czech mission from the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission [NNSC]. Another demarche followed in March 1994, in connection with impediments in the dispatching of diplomatic mail. In the course of consultations held between heads of MSZ political departments (June 1993), the Polish side firmly demanded that all restrictions be lifted, pointing out their negative effects on Polish-DPRK relations. The situation improved as a result.

In December 1994, in a conversation with the DPRK ambassador, MSZ repeated its demand and received a pledge that our officers would be treated properly.

In January 1994, during a meeting with a representative of the Korean People's Army, we issued an additional protest.

Having received a note from the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 7 February 1994, reporting that "the Polish mission in the NNSC has come to an end," a series of consultations was held with the remaining NNSC members (Sweden and Switzerland), as well as with the United States, the PRC, and the Republic of Korea. As the consulting sides reached an agreement, a reply was issued accentuating the divergence between the DPRK stance and provisions of the armistice treaty.

After further notes from the DPRK Foreign Ministry (23 January and 8 February 1995) were issued reporting that "the Polish mission in the NNSC has come to an end," and demanding that the Polish mission be withdrawn by 28 February 1995, the following action was taken:

—On 26 January 1995, the DPRK ambassador was summoned and a protest was issued against the one-sided activities of DPRK authorities.

—Also in January, we protested against impediments to the rotational exchange of the members of our mission.

—On 15 February in Warsaw, consultations were held with representatives of the Foreign Ministries of Sweden and Switzerland on our initiative. We informed them of our rejection of the demand to leave NNSC on the grounds that it did not comply with provisions of the armistice treaty and international regulations. A joint declaration was issued.

—On 23 February, we turned to all the diplomatic missions in Warsaw with a note, to which we attached the joint announcement issued by NNSC members. Among the countries which protested against DPRK and supported our stance were the United States, the ROK, Australia, and the United Kingdom.

—On 25 February, we once again addressed a demarche to the DPRK, in which we demanded the exertion of pressure be halted and lawless demands be withdrawn. We stressed that at each stage of the talks with DPRK we had warned that the eviction of the Polish mission would have a negative impact on bilateral relations.

I believe these facts—unknown to K. Darewicz through no fault of his own—should have been taken into consideration in the analysis of diplomatic efforts undertaken by MSZ.

I am very sorry to say there was an inaccurate quote from Director J. Pomianowski, who said at an MSZ briefing that "We do not want to combine the two issues (NNSC and bilateral relations), but the current action taken by DPRK against our officers will have a negative impact on bilateral relations between the Republic of Poland and DPRK."

We do understand, however, that because he was in Beijing at the time, Mr. Darewicz may not have heard the final part of a sentence uttered in Warsaw. A huge passage from the item that was built around the misquote should have made it "into the trash can."

So as not to confuse RZECZPOSPOLITA readers, I wish to clarify that the DPRK Embassy in Warsaw employs not 120, but 16 diplomats, and the first name of Mr. Pomianowski, head of the Asia, Africa, Australia, and Oceania Department, is Jerzy, not Wojciech.

With kindest regards,
[Signed] Krzysztof Sliwinski
Press Spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

* * *

The Author's Reply

I would like to point out that in my report, "The Price of Neglecting Pyongyang," I stated that Polish diplomats were unable to prevent the eviction of our observers from the demilitarized zone and that the MSZ ignored the actions taken by North Korea. I also questioned the purposefulness of maintaining extensive relations with Pyongyang, considering that it resorted to blackmail to force the Poles to leave the demilitarized zone. Having read your letter, Mr. Spokesman, I sustain my claims.

You present a long list of actions taken by the MSZ in support of the Polish mission in Panmundjom and suggest that "through no fault of my own" I knew nothing about it. I did know, because I have been closely following North Korean issues for five years now, yet I continue to claim the action taken was not sufficient. I believe any action makes sense only if it is effective. If it does not lead anywhere and does not prevent anything, it is better not to boast about it. Meanwhile, the action you specified has neither led to the development of a compromising formula to withdraw the Poles from Panmundjom, nor has it prevented their eviction, humiliating both our dignity as a nation and the dignity of the very observers. You yourself seem to admit that the MSZ protests were not very effective—despite the fact that they were repeated regularly, the North Korean authorities did not change their attitude.

Moreover, one may express doubt whether the protests had ever reached Pyongyang. In a statement issued on 28 February by the DPRK Foreign Ministry, one may read, for instance, that: "We are grateful to the Polish Government for withdrawing their delegation from the NNSC and for its full understanding of our recommendations." It is strange, but I thought the Poles were evicted from Panmundjom, and the "recommendations" made by the North Koreans had the form of an ultimatum and blackmail.

We may argue whether the action taken by MSZ was prudent, consequent, and timely; whether, for instance, the idea of salvaging the situation by sending the head of the Polish mission to Beijing was wise, in view of the well-known fact that Chinese authorities would not agree. The Chinese withdrawal was completely different in nature than the "withdrawal" of the Poles. Moreover, for strategic reasons, China happens to support DPRK activities targeted at forcing the United States to enter peace talks. Yet this is beside the point—the battle for the Poles in Panmundjom has been lost. I would most of all expect you, Mr. Spokesman, to explain the meaning of the statement that "DPRK action against our officers will have a negative influence on relations between the Republic of Poland and the DPRK," and specify what action MSZ intends to take against Pyongyang.

You are right, however, when you claim that on the basis of a press report on the briefing by Director J. Pomianowski, I could not have heard his entire statement and that, also relying on a press report, I mistakenly repeated the name of Director J. Pomianowski, for which I wish to extend my sincerest apologies.

[Signed] Krzysztof Darewicz

Government Not To Pursue Moscow Church Case

LD1003174395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry [MSZ] will not make any official protests to the Russian authorities over the incident that took place at the Polish church in Moscow on 8 March. The MSZ spokesman, Krzysztof Sliwinski, declared that the Polish Government does not expect an official apology from the Russian authorities in this case. Sliwinski told journalists that the Polish Government is not treating the incident at the church as an issue between Poland and Russia. According to Sliwinski, although the church was built from Polish Catholics' contributions, it belongs to all Catholics in Moscow, irrespective of their nationality.

Daily on 'Unprecedented' Attack

WS1003125095 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Mar 95 p 1

[Commentary by Jan Rozdzynski: "The Law of the Truncheon"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia has shown how law-abiding it is. The Moscow police have beaten parishioners of a Catholic church, including several Polish citizens and clerics. The attack on the church is unprecedented, even by Russian standards.

The congregation, which began loudly demanding its rights, wanted only to remind the Moscow authorities that the church belongs to them, not to the ill-famed companies currently housed in the church building, selling alcohol, shoes, and who knows what else.

The church was built by Poles living in a colony in Moscow before the revolution. Currently, the Muscovite Catholic community numbers several thousand people, not all of them Poles. Parishioners and clerics of various nationalities have been trying to rescue their ruined church with great effort, much to the chagrin of Moscow authorities.

Through established ties with the companies, the authorities are reaping profits by renting out the church facilities. The conflict is thus primarily over money. Its source will dry up as the congregation will not pay high rent for the use of their own property.

The Russian press has recently been chock-full of reports on the incident at the Eastern Railway Station in Warsaw, demanding an apology. Who will apologize to the Russians, Poles, and Italians who have been beaten up? Will the Russian or Moscow authorities be capable of this? Was the "Moscow incident" necessary for the parishioners to finally regain their church?

Walesa Departs for UN Summit in Copenhagen

LD1103100795 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0626 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Gdansk, 11 Mar—This morning President Lech Walesa left for Copenhagen for the World Social Summit in which heads of states and government are taking part.

He will deliver a speech and will meet, among others, the UN secretary general, the Danish prime minister, and the president of Finland. He will take part in a meeting of leaders of the delegations from states present at the summit, which is an important element of this year's 50th anniversary of the United Nations.

The president will return to Gdansk tonight.

Walesa Hopes Sejm Will Voluntarily Shorten Term

LD1003132795 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1105 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Presidential spokesman Leszek Spalinski said Lech Walesa hopes parliament will voluntarily shorten its term. Speaking to Polish radio, Leszek Spalinski stressed that the president wants the Sejm to accept his veto against the amendment to the Small Constitution. The Constitution says that after its dissolution, the Sejm will continue to work until a new parliament has been established. Leszek Spalinski added that the president admits that the end of the Sejm's term cannot be tantamount to an end of legislative work.

[Begin Spalinski recording] We should find some solution so that the end of the Sejm's term does not mean interrupting legislative work and discarding all legislative work done so far and starting from scratch. The president agrees that there should be some way of continuing this work or that the new parliament should be able to take over such work from the stage it was stopped at. It would be a pity to waste all this energy. [end recording]

Oleksy Tells MSW Public Safety Is Priority

LD1003230195 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Mar 95

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has assured the leadership of the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] that improving the state of the citizen's safety was a government priority.

[Correspondent Wojciech Nomejko] The prime minister emphasized that the actions taken by the government were not merely cheap measures designed to gain popularity. It is a question of actual and long-term improvements in the department's effectiveness.

[Oleksy] "From financial and budget issues, from immediate help that we are already looking for, through the budget philosophy and the spread of the budget shares next year and the year after, through legislative changes and through equipping the services that come under the department with effective, legal, penal, strike, suppressive, and warning instruments, we shall want the citizens to perceive eventually that they are protected by the state and cared for by the state."

[Nomejko] The prime minister emphasized that under Andrzej Milczanowski's leadership the department has acquired a professional and apolitical nature.

The minister said that thanks to the priority given by the government to public safety and order, he saw a chance for the MSW. He added that it was not a question of looking after particular interests.

[Milczanowski] "We promise we shall do everything. We shall do our utmost to ensure safety and public order for the public. We are aware how important this issue of improving the state of safety is for the government, for the authorities in general."

[Nomejko] Earlier, Minister Milczanowski presented to the president proposals for organizational changes at the ministry.

[Milczanowski] "Equally in the structure of the police, which is something that has to be looked at and the details of which have to be presented by Commandant Stanczyk, but also certain changes at the State Protection Office, which would focus attention more closely on the economic security of the state."

[Nomejko] Lech Walesa expressed full support for Minister Milczanowski's actions.

Oleksy Disputes Primate's Allegations

LD1103233395 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2152 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Nowy Sacz, 11 Mar—During his Saturday visit to Krynica, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy disagreed with the Friday statement by Primate Jozef Glemp, "if it were to apply to the Polish Government," that the intention of this government was prejudice or hatred toward religion, believers, and the church. He expressed the hope that that was not the view of the Catholic Church in Poland, and described the primate's pessimism as premature.

"In the primate's statement there appeared a notion that I cannot agree with, if it were to apply to the Polish Government. I do not agree, I do not share the primate's view, and I hope it is not the opinion of the Catholic Church in Poland that some form of prejudice or hatred—as it was put—toward religion, believers, the church, faith or the Poles who are members of the Roman Catholic Church is the mission or intention of the Polish Government," said the prime minister.

"I think it was a statement that was not fully completed and the primate probably did not want to place the emphases as these were subsequently presented in the mass media," said Oleksy. He stressed that the government led by him "never intended or given the cause to be suspected of practices which would have to be vile towards the religious Polish public."

But he noted that "it cannot be concealed that the primate of the Polish Catholic Church expressed pessimism in respect of the activities of the government and expressed a lack of belief in its ability to succeed at anything. In this respect I am much more of a believer than the primate," said the prime minister.

He announced that he would seek every possible way of good cooperation with the Catholic Church and other religions in Poland, and respect "everything that the religious Catholic public deserves and is entitled to," but at the same time he would stand guard over the constitution and its rules. "I do not think this should surprise anyone or give rise to any suspicions that keeping to the principles of the constitution could be directed against the religious public, religion or the church," said Jozef Oleksy, adding that in the light of this line of the government the "primate's pessimism is premature."

Oleksy, who on Saturday visited Nowy Sacz Province, met in Ludzmierz, the oldest village of the Podhale region, local self- government activists of the Union of Podhale Parishes. In Krynica Oleksy declared support for pro-ecological initiatives and promised support for a geothermal programme for Podhale.

Bartoszewski Discusses NATO, Country's Image

AU1203202695 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 11-12 Mar 95 p 3

[Interview with new Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski by Edith Heller; place and date not given: "Give Me an Alternative to NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Heller] As foreign minister, you have said that you will continue your predecessor's efforts for Poland's early EU and NATO membership. Why is Poland in such a hurry?

[Bartoszewski] Please give me other structures of collective security that have been tried out and are not directed against anyone, and then I will make the right choice. So far, I do not know of any other alternatives.

During my four years as ambassador to Austria, I watched the discussion there. It was a little different from other countries because the problems there are different. People were worried about their geographical position, their peace and quiet being disturbed, transit traffic, and the loss of the permanent virginity of neutrality—all of a sudden there were doubts whether it is right to be a complete virgin or whether one should not yield a bit.... I watched that with great interest and I saw that Polish farmers have very similar thinking patterns to people in the Tirol.

[Heller] German Defense Minister Volker Ruehe has said that he thinks NATO's eastward expansion might come into effect before the year 2000.

[Bartoszewski] I am not so sure about that. Minister Ruehe is definitely more competent than I am—I highly regarded him even when he was a simple deputy, and I have not forgotten that he spoke out for closer German-Polish relations at a time when this was not very popular in his party. I would very much like to believe him—and I would like Messrs. Kohl and Kinkel to say the same. It is primarily a political decision that is needed.

A Little Bit Pregnant

[Heller] What do you think of the conditions that Russia presented to the United States at the end of February, according to which the new NATO members should only be integrated into the political and not military structures of the alliance?

[Bartoszewski] That is not the first Russian comment on that matter. At first, Yeltsin said: "No problem." Then he said that he had not meant it like that. Now we have another statement that again needs profound analyzing. I adhere to the principle: "Nothing that concerns us without us." But I think that one should not try to be "a little bit pregnant...."

[Heller] You recently expressed concern that Poland might be ignored or pushed to the wall during the 50th anniversary celebrations marking the end of World War II. Why are you afraid of that?

[Bartoszewski] My fear is based on my knowledge of the program planned so far. I cannot see any trace of the country being present in which World War II begun.

[Heller] How should that day be celebrated in your opinion?

[Bartoszewski] The celebrations should primarily include those countries that were the first to be invaded by Hitler's Germany. There should be a joint event of all the countries concerned, which should enable moral and political statements—no speeches of remembrance, but statements of the kind that Richard von Weizsaecker made on 8 May 1985.

[Heller] Where would you want this event to be held?

[Bartoszewski] I can think of two places best suited for this: Danzig and Berlin. Danzig stood at the beginning and Berlin at the end of the tragedy.

[Heller] Poland's image abroad has been a fatal one lately. The major political forces are the former communists on the one hand, whom the opposition has accused of attempting to "bring back communism," and, on the other hand, there is Lech Walesa, whom his former fellow Solidarnosc members call a "danger to democracy." Who is really a danger to Poland? How stable and credible is Poland?

Walesa's Best Idea

[Bartoszewski] The fact that I decided to join the government, which has surprised many of my friends in Poland and abroad, is part of the answer. It shows that I believe that this image can be improved. I am very much aware of the image, as I followed it in the Austrian media and on German television. I do not consider the president a threat to our country's future; on the contrary, I consider some of his ideas very sensible, like the one to make me foreign minister!

[Heller] What have the four years in Vienna meant for you personally?

[Bartoszewski] I will remember those years as excellent political training, including political culture. Also, I will remember Austria as a highly interesting testing ground for the living together of regions and states. I am a great supporter of a wide independence of regions, and I have always been very interested in the relationship between the federal government and the provinces in Austria.

I will not talk about Austria's culture and the beautiful scenery—that would be almost trivial. I have known Austria for a long time. I only want to mention two of my longest-standing friends in Austria: Cardinal Franz Koenig and Simon Wiesenthal. I have known them both for 30 years. Since I have so many good friends in Austria, I might not be entirely objective: Part of my heart will remain in Austria.

Urges Cooperation With Germany

LD1003214095 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 2019 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw (DDP/ADN)—Poland's new foreign minister, Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, has called for the speedy extension of Polish-German cooperation along the border regions. In an interview with the Frankfurt/Oder-based MAERKISCHE ODERZEITUNG (Saturday edition), the politician said that this cooperation is an "outstanding way to bring the people closer together." He firmly expected that the new government in Warsaw will not restrict in any way the local Polish authorities. In case of difficulties, he will intervene fully and forcefully.

Concerning the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the end of the war, Bartoszewski said that the Poles were in no way responsible for World War II, nor were they responsible for the numerous victims who perished while escaping from the advancing front. "However, all those who took part in the expulsion are to blame for those who perished in the expulsion." Neither is there collective guilt either of the Germans or the Poles.

The minister announced that he will give up his post in the left- wing oriented government once the latter stops pursuing "cultural, civilizational, and political integration with the West."

Radio Zet Interviews Defense Minister Okonski

LD1003162195 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0710 GMT 10 Mar 95

[Studio interview with Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski by correspondent Woyciechowski—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Woyciechowski] Today's guest of Radio Zet is Zbigniew Okonski, the new minister of national defense. Good Morning.

[Okonski] Good morning. Good morning ladies and gentlemen.

[Woyciechowski] What is going on in the Army?

[Okonski] Generally speaking, things are OK. I think emotions have settled down. After the Drawsko scandal everyone wants to cooperate. I can see this goodwill. So I discovered good conditions and want to use my abilities to reach a compromise and carry on with specific work. I think my collaborators are very well prepared for that.

[Woyciechowski] You are talking about the Drawsko lesson. Who learned what from Drawsko?

[Okonski] I think everyone learned that civilian control over the Army is something specific that must be implemented. We cannot just look angrily at each other; there should be cooperation. It means setting up joint teams which will solve problems. The military establishment, under the chief of general staff together with all generals and General Wilecki, and the civilian establishment realized that they have to coexist. They will cooperate. [passage omitted]

[Woyciechowski] Mr. Minister, what is the Pakistani scandal. I read a fragment of a super-secret document bearing your signature in the latest NIE weekly. There is talk about a Pakistani scandal, but I don't know what it is all about.

[Okonski] I would not call it a scandal. There is a case concerning Pakistan. We have been trading in military equipment with this country for some years now. We have had some successes and some defeats here. This is business, and competition is fierce. We want business to be fully successful, but things do not always turn out that way.

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] So it is all about trade? A contract under negotiations which did not work out?

[Okonski] Yes that's it. Before the vote on the government, I told the Sejm defense commission, where I had to answer many questions before being accepted as defense minister, that I deeply believe—and there are many arguments to support this—that this matter will be concluded very positively for us. structure]

[Woyciechowski] When will Poland become a NATO member?

[Okonski] In my opinion?

[Woyciechowski] What do you think, in five, 10 years time?

[Okonski] In my opinion, and from what I can see after talking to my employees, we have a chance to be in those structures. I have already had two three-hour long sessions—very intensive, to the point—with military, infrastructure, and political sectors. We are fitting in with NATO expectations. So in two or three years.

[Woyciechowski] Two or three years? So quickly?

[Okonski] Yes.

[Woyciechowski] What is the greatest difficulty as far as equipment and technology are concerned? What do we have to do?

[Okonski] Integration of command systems; this is the most important issue. Protection of the airspace above Poland and other NATO states. Training of commanders, especially in languages and in learning both systems of command and communication. Without this we could start shooting at each other. [passage omitted]

[Woyciechowski] So you are saying that in two or three years Poland could become a member of NATO and that nobody will stop us?

[Okonski, laughing] Theoretically. Well, I wouldn't want anyone to stop us. We observe a very positive attitude on the part of some NATO partners, like Germany and the United States, or the Netherlands, for instance. Technically we could do it. But of course there is some resistance—there is the attitude of our great neighbor. We want to convince this neighbor. I will get involved too. I have a few friends in high positions in Russia. I was responsible for the cooperation with Russia. In the meantime, my friends were promoted and so was I. I think we will be able to convince our partners to the East that such a move is not directed against them, that it will help common security, that we are naturally geared toward integration with the West, and that it is a part of not only economic but also political integration.

[Woyciechowski] So what will it look like? Will there be NATO armies in Poland?

[Okonski] Why not? We recently had joint military exercises involving Western troops, and we will continue to train together. I think Polish troops can go abroad and that we can exchange experiences.

[Woyciechowski] So it may happen. You don't rule out that Polish soldiers may stay in NATO barracks in Germany?

[Okonski] Of course.

[Woyciechowski] Thank you very much for this interview.

The guest of Radio Zet was Zbigniew Okonski, the new minister of national defense. Thank you.

[Okonski] Thank you very much.

Daily Says Ananicz To Be Deputy Foreign Minister

WS1303131195 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11-12 Mar 95 p 2

[Article by K. Gr.: "Ananicz Returns; There Will Be Movement in the MSZ"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] There will be changes in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ]. Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, new head of the ministry, intends to make appointments to the vacant post of first deputy to the minister. In line with unofficial information, he would like this office to be taken over by Andrzej Ananicz, present foreign affairs adviser to the president and former MSZ deputy minister. It is still not known what will be done with the MSZ reorganization draft, prepared under [former Foreign Minister] Andrzej Olechowski.

Ananicz was the first author of the MSZ reorganization draft, which was later attacked by Sejm deputies of the Polish Peasant Party. He left the ministry when the subcommittee investigating the state of the MSZ cadres began its operations. He received a job at the President's Chancellory as an undersecretary of state and foreign affairs adviser to President Walesa. [passage omitted]

It is not known whether MSZ will be reformed in line with the plan that has been prepared. At his first news conference as minister, Wladyslaw Bartoszewski presented himself as an advocate of separating "political" posts from the posts of career employees. According to him, however, this process should be evolutionary. [passage omitted]

Yegor Gaydar Arrives at Invitation of UW

LD1203232295 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2300 GMT 12 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Former Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar arrived in Poland this evening at the invitation of the Union of Freedom [UW]. The current leader of Russia's Choice Party told Polish Radio at the airport that during his visit to our country he intends to acquaint himself with the results of Polish economic reforms, among other things.

UOP, GS Discuss Foreign Intelligence Presence

WS1003153895 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 10 Mar 95 p 2

[Article by Mariusz Jedrzejko: "Close Encounters: The Interests of Spies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The topic of the latest meeting within the "Close Encounters" cycle, held between the managing staff of the General Staff [GS] of the Polish Army and representatives of the social and political scene, was the danger pertaining to operations carried out by foreign intelligence services on the territory of Poland. Brigadier General Gromoslaw Czempinski, head of the Office of State Protection [UOP], and his deputy, Colonel Jerzy Nozka, spoke about the complexities of the secret services.

According to the head of UOP, our country is the object of offensive operations carried out by foreign intelligence services which are interested not only in defense issues, but also the condition of the banking system, privatization, and the social and political life of our country. Especially privatization raises many problems.

Answering questions from the large group in attendance, among them Division General Ryszard Muszynski and Colonel Edward Taszakowski, the guests outlined major problems pertaining to the operations of foreign intelligence services and objectives facing UOP in a time of social and economic transition.

"As far as the protection of rudimentary state interests is concerned, we closely follow the behavior of extremist political forces, especially those which support violence and advocate the use of force," said the head of UOP.

The invited guests also presented hazards connected with the influx of so-called dirty money to Poland and drug trafficking. A huge part of the discussion was devoted to the protection of state secrets, Polish science and technology, and the corruption of state officials.

"The secret services are one of the instruments employed by the state to collect information indispensable for implementing effective foreign policy, identifying potential threats, and securing internal and external security," said Brig. Gen. G. Czempinski concluding the session.

The meeting was hosted by Brigadier General Alfons Kupis.

Discord in SLD, PSL Over Presidential Nominee

WS1003143395 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Mar 95 p 2

[Article by Igor Zalewski: "A Government Alliance Rather Than a Presidential One"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Prime Minister Oleksy (Democratic Left Alliance) [SLD] and Deputy Prime Minister Roman Jagielinski (Polish Peasant party) [PSL] advocate putting forth a joint candidate for the presidential elections. Their parties, however, prefer to run separately.*

PSL's Deputy Prime Minister Roman Jagielinski is for putting forth a joint, supraparty presidential candidate by the coalition. He suggested the idea in an interview for Radio ZET.

The National Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic come forth with the notion last December. Thus far, however, the postcommunists have not received an official reply from PSL.

The idea is supported by SLD's Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy. "I thinks it is quite a good idea, in line with the coalition's logic insofar as the latter carries out long-term projections," Oleksy commented on Jagielinski's statement. Oleksy could stand a huge chance of becoming the joint candidate for presidency.

Other politicians are rather skeptical about the idea they themselves came up with last year. "Three months ago, we seriously considered putting forth a joint presidential candidate. Today, however, the situation is quite different," said Krzysztof Janik from SLD, who advocated the "Pawlak for president" concept last fall, referring to the reconstruction of the government and the change of prime minister.

"Today, the initiative still belongs to PSL, and it has not responded to our offer yet," says Janik. He is no longer enthusiastic about the idea he had advocated previously. "The chances of success are slim," he claims.

Another SLD politician is straightforward about the reasons why his party is no longer interested in an idea it supported three months earlier. "Pawlak was prime minister at the time. If he had become a candidate, he would have had to resign as head of the government. He has stepped down anyway, and Oleksy is prime minister now."

The idea of putting forth a joint candidate does not have many supporters within PSL, either. Both Head of the National Council Speaker Jozef Zych (who stands the greatest chance of representing the peasants in the elections), and Michal Strak, Pawlak's close associate, support the idea of a joint candidate. They claim the presidential elections are a good opportunity to promote PSL.

UDMR Asks Interior Minister for Help

LD1003094395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR; in Romanian, UDMR] has asked for help from the interior minister in order to be able to celebrate 15 March [anniversary of the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution and war of independence] in calm circumstances.

HDUR Chairman Bela Marko pointed to the fact that statements by Romanian nationalist politicians and threats addressed to HDUR have caused tension before the celebrations. He stressed that they use the red, white, and green colors [of the Hungarian flag] as the symbol of the Hungarian ethnic minority, and this is in accordance with the Constitution. Bela Marko added: The commemoration is not at all against the Romanian nation, and does not violate its dignity. The event in question is a holiday of Hungarians, no matter which part of the world they live in.

SRI Units on Alert Due to Ethnic 'Tensions'

AU1003170995 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 8 Mar 95 p 1

["Note" by Radu Tudor: "The Military Units of the Romanian Intelligence Service Have Been Placed on 'Special Operational Status'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The military units of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] have been placed on "special operational status" [situatie operativa] as of 1 March 1995.

This status was declared by the order of the day of SRI Director Virgil Magureanu, for an unspecified length of time.

The "special operational status" was declared in the wake of tensions that have emerged in the relations between the majority Romanian citizens and the coexisting minorities on Romania's territory.

Funar Wants Referendum on Treaty With Hungary

AU1003210095 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We received by fax a statement from Mr. Gheorghe Funar, president of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], which says, among other things, quote: The PUNR is in favor of concluding the treaty of cooperation and good-neighborliness between Romania and the Hungarian Republic, by observing the provisions of Romania's Constitution and the Framework Convention of the Council of Europe on the Protection of National Minorities, signed in Strasbourg on 1 February 1995. Further, in view of the aide-memoire signed by the representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs of Romania and Hungary and the draft treaty between the two countries, the president of the PUNR outlines in his statement a number of reservations about the treaty, determining that it violates Romania's Constitution and demanding that it be made public.

In conclusion, the statement reads: The leaders of several Romanian parliamentary parties maintain that 20 March 1995 is not a deadline by which the Romanian people must accept the treaty between Romania and the Republic of Hungary. Consequently, the PUNR demands that a national referendum be organized, as soon as possible, on the treaty of understanding, cooperation, and good-neighborliness between Romania and the Republic of Hungary.

The statement from which we quoted is signed by PUNR president Gheorghe Funar.

Minority Rights Must Be Guaranteed

LD1003211495 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1700 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty that is being drafted must unambiguously guarantee the rights of minorities. Csaba Takacs, executive chairman of the HDUR [Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania; in Romanian, UDMR], said this in a telephone interview with Duna Television.

[Bucharest Duna Television correspondent Tibor Bogdan] Under no circumstances should the Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty be allowed to become a document that permits misinterpretations of, or restrictions on, minority rights. This is how, in a telephone interview with me, Csaba Takacs summed up the HDUR's views on the basic treaty formulated at its meeting in Kolozsvar [Cluj-Napoca] last night [9 March]. It is important to avoid this danger, because the practice of the Romanian authorities hitherto has proved that Bucharest has turned all international agreements and domestic decrees on minority protection against the minorities themselves. It did so by making cunning use of the loopholes provided by various interpretations and restrictions.

Takacs said that there are fears in the HDUR that the settlement of the minority situation will be frozen at a level that, under the current circumstances, would not augur well for the future. He concluded that signing the basic treaty is purely a question of political will. If the Romanian Government says yes to requests for minority rights, the document could be ready before 20 March; but if Bucharest does not do so it might be years before it is signed.

Court Registers Mohora-Led Socialist Party

AU1103180195 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 8 Mar 95 p 2

[Article by Peter Sragher: "The Socialist Party Has Received the Blessing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During a public session yesterday of the Bucharest Municipality Court, 4th Section, judges finalized the 3 March court decision allowing for the Socialist Party's official registration. No one had contested the party's registration request, so Tudor Mohora now also has the juridical blessing. The Socialist Party of Labor on 3 March had made a timid attempt to contend the Socialist Party's name. However, their arguments were considered unfounded.

PAC Rejects Modifications to CDR Protocol

AU1303122195 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 13 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the meeting of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] National Committee held yesterday, 12 March, party president Nicolae Manolescu read a declaration that had been adopted with 28 votes in favor and 13 against.

The PAC National Committee rejects the modifications to the protocol on the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] adopted at the 17 February convention meeting. The PAC regards this protocol as an ultimatum. With these changes, the CDR protocol turns an alliance of parties and civic organizations into a superparty, said Nicolae Manolescu.

We remind our listeners that last month, according to PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party] proposals, the members of the CDR Council adopted an amendment to the operating protocol, which stipulates that the member groups support a single candidate to the presidency of the nation and will share joint lists in local and parliamentary elections, until the electoral law is changed.

Nevertheless, the PAC's National Committee at yesterday's meeting expressed its willingness to cooperate with the groups included in the CDR if they are ready to accept debate and negotiations.

The declaration issued by the PAC National Committee does not envisage PAC withdrawal from the CDR, Nicolae Manolescu stated in conclusion.

Intelligence Forces Arrest Mercury Traffickers

AU1003145195 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 7 Mar 95 p 3

[Article by Dan Andronic: "SRI Has Annihilated a Network of Mercury Traffickers"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A spectacular operation to destroy a network of mercury [mercur] traffickers took place a week ago. It was carried out by SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] officers of the Dolj County Antiterror Brigade and other officers of regional intelligence structures.

After the first stage of information gathering, during which the members of the network were under constant surveillance, the SRI officers wound up the operation on 28 February, when, during a search on the streets of the town of Calafat, 480 grams of mercury was discovered. The mercury was found on Ovidiu Icalas, a second-year mathematics student, and Andrei Silviu, 25, both residents of Calafat.

The two were waiting in a white Dacia 1.300 car with license plates DJ-01-TKX to contact three accomplices who were transporting no more and no less than 60 kg of mercury, concealed in two hermetically sealed containers. Constantin Patru, 38, of Ionesti Commune, Valcea County; Gavrila Dan Cristian, 24, of Calafat; and Dumitru Viorel Ionescu, 22, of Ionesti Commune, Valcea County, were in a second car, with license plates 2-VL-3997. Popescu Constantin, 33, of Fiscalia village, Vilcea County, who belongs to the same network, was detained later. [passage omitted]

The amount of over 60 kg mercury discovered by the SRI officers was intended to have been sold for 250,000 German marks. [passage omitted)

Zubak on Details of Bonn-Sponsored Accord

LD1003213095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The two days of talks that Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic, president and vice president of the Bosniak-Croat Federation respectively, had in Bonn have resulted in an agreement.

Upon his arrival at Zagreb Airport, Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, told journalists about the talks: We have clarified the issue of relations between institutions of the Federation and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, President Zubak said adding:

[Begin Zubak recording] We concluded that, with the building of the Federal bodies of power, the competences of the Republican bodies of power and those of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosnia should be reduced. We agreed to speed up the process of building municipal and cantonal authorities in areas where this has not yet been done.

We reached agreement on principles on which municipal leaderships will be appointed for municipalities and on where assemblies—bodies of power—should be set up in accordance with the Federal Constitution. The principle is that the party which won a majority of votes in the last elections—the one that has the biggest number of deputies in the respective municipal assembly—should have the right to decide which post in the municipal leadership it will take. We advocated this and this is a democratic principle. [end recording]

What is very important for us is to organize the return of refugees in a planned manner. Their return should not change the demographic structure as recorded in the last census.

[Begin Zubak recording] We also conducted talks on the Army and agreed that two structures—the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—should continue to exist in the transition period, but the competences of the joint headquarters should be extended. The law on the defense of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be adopted as soon as possible. This law will regulate all issues pertinent to the structure of the future Federal Army; this Army must not have any insignia of a religious or other nature. We also agreed to speed up the adoption of the law on internal affairs. [end recording]

All in all, we are pleased with the talks, President Zubak concluded.

Ljubic: Prerequisites for Successful Federation

AU1103175895 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 95 p 8

[Interview with Mariofil Ljubic, chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Constituent Assembly, by Senka Kurtovic; place and date not given: The Continuity of the Bosnian State"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Kurtovic] With the Washington and Vienna Agreements being signed and following an unprecedented aggression and genocide and clashes between Croats and Bosniaks, can one assert that the situation has turned in favor of the federation?

[Ljubic] Exactly. The Federation could serve as a model for solving all of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are also inviting the Serbian side to accept the Federation under equal conditions, refrain from aggression, and recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina as its own state. I know this is a very complex task. However, there are no dilemmas for me—the Federation has already shown that it can exist. It has achieved major results, regardless of certain difficulties in some segments. After all, the Federation has achieved a miracle—it halted the war in some regions where war should not have been waged in the first place.

[Kurtovic] What are the prerequisites for the Federation to be successful?

[Ljubic] First of all, that it is to enable the return of displaced and expelled people and urgently establish cantons and municipal authorities. We must also adopt many laws and documents that would ensure equality for every citizen. This is our chance to show Karadzic's Serbs and the world what we want and what we advocate. We must persuade them that we shall not renounce the part of Bosnia-Herzegovina that currently does not belong to the federation. We shall try to integrate that territory into the unified constitutional and legal system in a peaceful way. If that is not possible, then we have other means as well. We believe that the Serbs will also realize that the Federation is in their interest as well and that the international community will exert a more efficient pressure on them to accept the Contact Group plan, which could serve as a basis for solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Kurtovic] You said that forming the cantons is one of the conditions for the Federation to begin its existence. Apart from the Posavina Canton, it has been announced that other cantons should also be formed.

[Ljubic] The assembly of the grand county [velezupa] (canton) of western Herzegovina will be held at the beginning of March. After that, one should accelerate the process of establishing two mixed cantons—the Central Bosnian and Neretva cantons. These two cantons are particularly important since these are regions where battles between Croats and Bosniaks were waged. There are still some open questions in these regions that we must examine, as it is our aim to create the best possible conditions for the life of Croatian and Bosniak populations.

Unified Criteria for New Municipalities

[Kurtovic] This also implies the formation of new municipalities, a change of borders, and adopting a bill on local self-administration. When will this question be discussed by the assembly and finally brought to an end?

[Ljubic] There were some comments in the past that the municipality borders had been drawn unnaturally, so as to break up national groups of Croatian and Bosniak population. By reconstructing or forming new municipalities, one would create a different structure of the state and authorities, build instruments of protection from majority rule at the highest level. At the next session of the Constituent Assembly (in the middle of March—author's note), we are going to discuss unified criteria on forming new municipalities, changing the borders, and the law on local self-administration. The issue of establishing the cantons' borders will also be initiated at this session.

[Kurtovic] Who is in charge of that job?

[Ljubic] We are going to use the provision of the Vienna Agreements where it was agreed that the borders of the cantons will be established in the field. This is a job for a mixed parliamentary parity commission of the two peoples. There have been disagreements about the present borders and it is time we solved them.

[Kurtovic] What role in this and other issues will be played by the arbiter, whose function was agreed upon in Munich recently?

[Ljubic] The arbiter will help us with social issues and disagreements on implementing the Constitution. There are some questions that the Croatian and Bosniak sides interpret differently. The arbiter will help us to understand each other better and reach an agreement on how to realize our intentions. We will be using the services of four countries (Turkey, the United States, Germany, and Austria) because it is our aim to make our Federation a success and live in the future. [passage omitted]

Akashi's Plane Fired on at Sarajevo Airport

LD1203123495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1218 GMT 12 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—A plane carrying special U.N. envoy Yasushi Akashi was hit on Sunday by heavy weaponry shells after landing at Sarajevo Airport, U.N. spokesman Herve Gourmelon said.

The shells hit the fuselage, the U.N. spokesman said, but no-one was injured, foreign agencies report. United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Commander for Former Yugosavia Gen. Bernard Janvier and UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia Gen. Rupert Smith were also on board the plane.

Akahsi said after leaving the plane that he was very concerned over the deterioration of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said that the objective of his visit was to see if this trend could be stopped. Akashi left the airport for talks with Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic. During his two-day mission, Akashi is also due to meet with the Bosnian Serb leaders.

Akashi warned last week that the four-month ceasefire in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been in effect since Jan. 1, was in jeopardy and accused Bosnian Muslims of intensifying provocative actions.

ICRC Plane Fired on at Airport; Woman Seized

AU1103144295 Paris AFP in English 1415 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, March 11 (AFP)—An International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) plane was fired at on landing at Sarajevo airport Saturday morning [11 March] and a Bosnian woman interpreter working for the UN was seized at gunpoint by the Serbs.

The ICRC twin-engine turbo-prop plane was hit by one round of gunfire, but was able to take off again for Zagreb after which the airport was closed, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Major Pierre Chavancy said. The origin of fire was unknown.

Meanwhile, a woman interpreter was seized from a French UN armoured vehicle at a Serb checkpoint on the outskirts of Sarajevo, Chavancy said. Two French soldiers travelling with her, including a captain, were not detained.

"There is an increasing pattern of harassment by the Bosnian Serb Army, particularly at checkpoints around Sarajevo," UNPROFOR spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Gary Coward said here. Such actions were "unacceptable" and impeded the UN in its efforts to carry out its mandate, he added.

The woman interpreter's arrest follows that over the past few weeks of two Bosnian journalists and five humanitarian aid workers—four French and one American—from Pharmaciens sans frontieres (Pharmacists Without Borders) at Serb checkpoints around the besieged city.

In another incident Saturday morning, the Serbs sought to confiscate flak jackets from a group of UN soldiers crossing another checkpoint on the way between Sarajevo and the airport. The soldiers, who were going on leave, refused to hand over the jackets and returned to town.

On Thursday, the Serbs seized 126 flak jackets from a UN truck heading into town from the airport. Serbs are also preventing fuel convoys from reaching Sarajevo and the Moslem-held eastern enclaves of Srebrenica, Gorazde and Zepa, the UN said. The near complete blockade of fuel has gone on since March 3.

The Serbs have also stopped nearly all medicine supplies from reaching the eastern enclaves. The Serbs Saturday threatened to close another checkpoint, near Visoko, northwest of Sarajevo, which would effectively strand a number of UN Canadian soldiers inside their territory.

The Canadian contingent has evacuated all non-essential personnel from the Serb side of the line, the UN said.

Meanwhile, fighting picked up Saturday morning in the northwest Bihac enclave with infantry action near Velika Kladusa. [passage omitted]

Silajdzic Opposes Extension of Cease-Fire

LD1103205595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The world summit on social development, which opened in Copenhagen on 6 March, has entered its final, plenary stage. [passage omitted]

Nedzad Leko is reporting from Copenhagen about activities of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation led by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic.

[Leko] Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, who is leading the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation at the world summit on social development, today had meetings with several delegations that are taking part in this international gathering.

He had lengthy talks with Malaysian Prime Minister Mohamad Mahathir. On this occasion, Prime Minister Mahathir underlined his country's resolution to leave its troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina irrespective of a possible UN withdrawal from our country.

They also discussed bilateral economic cooperation and a trilateral agreement on cooperation between Malaysia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Prime Minister Mahathir wanted to know how much the agreement consolidated relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

Prime Minister Silajdzic again raised the issue of Malaysia's deliveries of food, and in particular cooking oil, to Bosnia-Herzegovina, as it had been agreed during his visit to Malaysia.

Silajdzic held a news conference this afternoon. Journalists asked about a possible UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] withdrawal from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Prime Minister Silajdzic refused to comment on the decision by President Tudjman on the withdrawal of UN forces from Croatia, stressing that this was an internal question of a sovereign country.

Regarding a UNPROFOR withdrawal from Bosnia-Herzegovina, the prime minister stressed that Bosnia had invited UN forces and that it wanted UNPROFOR to stay. Asked whether Bosnia-Herzegovina would accept a possible extension of the cease-fire after it expires on 1 May, Silajdzic gave a negative reply because—as he put it—this would favor the enemy, preserve the status quo, and legalize genocide and conquest by force.

On this occasion, he reiterated Bosnia-Herzegovina's stand that it would do everything to find a peaceful solution and that, with this in mind, it had endorsed the Contact Group's plan, but not even this helped. So nothing else is left but further resistance to the aggression.

Asked by journalists whether the idea on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina was still an offer, Prime Minister Silajdzic said that these were irrelevant rumors and that any division would have to be discussed with Bosnia-Herzegovina; it was clear that Bosnia could no longer be divided.

Asked about the link between the social development summit and the war in Bosnia, Silajdzic said that everything in our country was contrary to the summit's goals: the elimination of poverty, unemployment, and social injustice. Indeed, the world community is tolerating force, poverty, and suffering in the heart of Europe, which is contrary to the reasons why the summit was convened.

Prime Minister Silajdzic will address the summit tomorrow morning. He is also due to meet the U.S. delegation led by Vice President Al Gore. The prime minister is also due to take part in a Danish Radio and TV program. Silajdzic will conclude today's program with a formal dinner hosted by Danish Queen Margareta.

Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic is also in our delegation. Today he had talks with his Lebanese counterpart. The two ministers have agreed to establish diplomatic relations. Lebanon will be represented in our country by their ambassador in Vienna, and our diplomatic representative in Cairo will represent Bosnia-Herzegovina's interests in Lebanon. [passage omitted]

Arrested HVO Commander Allegedly Murdered

LD1103112995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 11 Mar 95

[Received via fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 11 Mar (SRNA)—Major General Vlado Santic, commander of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] in Bihac, whom Croatian radio yesterday reported arrested by Muslim intelligence service members, was in fact killed on 8 March, SRNA has learned from intelligence sources of the Srpska republic army.

The murder is being treated as top secret. The reason for the murder was Santic's open opposition to the latest alliance between Croats and Muslims. The intelligence service of the [Bosnian] Serb army has reliable information that most HVO commanders and soldiers share his opinion.

The murder of General Santic was planned in the highest military and political circles in Sarajevo and Zagreb and it was carried out by Muslim intelligence service members.

Commission To Investigate

LD1103152595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] In response to the arrest of Major General Vlado Santic, HVO [Croatian Defense Council] commander in the Bihac area, whose whereabouts are still unknown, Vladimir Soljic, defense minister of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna, gave the following statement:

[Begin Soljic recording] We do not have complete and reliable information about it. We have done everything to obtain correct information from the Muslim side—all the way from Gen. Dudakovic, 5th Corps commander; and Gen. Delic, chief of the headquarters of the supreme command; to Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, but we have not managed to find out anything. This is why we have formed a commission, comprising representatives of the HVO, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the joint headquarters, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as, political representatives of the Croat and Muslim nations. The commission will start working today and we will inform the public about its work.

I would prefer not to pass judgment before the true facts are established, but I do have to express my regret that this incident happened and I firmly believe the investigation will be fast and objective and we will find and punish the culprits. Such actions are not in the spirit of developing Croat-Muslim relations and serve only the Serb aggressor.

Immediately upon the arrest of Gen. Santic, the Serb side informed the public about it in great detail via its media. We have every right to expect the Muslim side to react to this, that is, to give us correct information. [end recording]

Army Releases Statement

LD1103224995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have received the following statement from the press center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army:

In connection with the news of the disappearance of Major General Vlado Santic, relevant bodies of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the Croat Defense Council, and bodies of power in the Bihac enclave have jointly launched an action to clarify this distressing incident, which has been condemned by all members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, citizens of the Bihac enclave, and further afield.

By order of Gen. Rasim Delic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, energetic measures have been taken which will again prove our consistent efforts to establish the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and prevent all forms of unacceptable and criminal behavior which thwart that process.

Indignation in this respect is particularly pronounced because of the conviction that relations between the Croat and Bosniak nation, and by the same token, relations between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croat Defense Council, have the trend of continuous improvement, which is naturally not beneficial to the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor, who favors such incidents as they block the process of rapprochement between the Croat and Bosniak nations and joint combat activities of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croat Defense Council, the statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army press center states.

Muslims Suspected

LD1203170495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 12 Mar 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mostar, 12 Mar (SRNA)—The presidential council and the ministry of defense of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna announced today they had reliable information that the members of the 5th Corps of the Muslim Army in Bihac killed the Croat Defense Council's Major General Vlado Santic, Mostar-based Croat radio has said.

According to the same source, the kidnappers and killers of Gen. Santic are members of the 502d brigade of the 5th Corps under the command of Hamdija Avdic. [passage omitted]

Krajisnik Speaks About Muslim-Croat Alliance

LD1103133395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1244 GMT 11 Mar 95

[Received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 11 Mar (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, the president [speaker] of the People's Assembly of the Srpska republic, told SRNA before today's assembly session in Pale that the military coalition between Croatia and Croats and the Muslims from the former Bosnia-Herzegovina was an indication "either of a (?speedy) war or an introduction to a cataclysm if we do not take the opportunity to end the war."

Krajisnik said that a state of war could be proclaimed in the Serb Republic if Croatia attacked the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK].

"All Serbs must respond to a possible Croatian-Muslim offensive, and if Knin is attacked, Serbia and Montenegro must enter the Serb defense bloc in line with the Vance plan, and so must the Srpska republic, which is bound by the Prijedor declaration," the president of the Srpska republic assembly said.

According to him, at the session of the Club of Serb Deputies held for 10 hours behind closed doors last night, it was concluded that one of the main tasks must be better military and organizational policy in the framework of preparations to defend the country from the Croatian-Muslim offensive.

Krajisnik confirmed that in addition to the announced agenda, today's assembly session will comprise a debate about the dismissal of deputies Radoslav Brdjanin from Celic and Mirko Jovanovic from Samac, whose resignations the Main Committee of the SDS [Serb Democratic Party] and the Club of Serb Deputies accepted. A debate about other deputies, concerning whom similar initiatives have been launched, will be held at one of the next sessions.

SRNA has unofficially learned that the next special session of the Srpska republic assembly could be held on Thursday, 16 March.

Rebel Muslim Leader Asks UN for More Aid

LD1303105895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 13 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Drvar, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Fikret Abdic, leader of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, sent a letter to the UN secretary general pointing out the difficult situation in West Bosnia and the need to help the refugees who are arriving daily into the province from the territory controlled by the [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] 5th Corps.

"The people expect concrete and efficient aid from you," Abdic stressed, recalling the catastrophic humanitarian situation in the Bihac pocket and the [UN] decision to ban the passage of convoys through Velika Kladusa.

"We expect you to revoke the decision to ban the distribution of aid and the movement [of convoys] through the territory of West Bosnia since the area is safe for you," Abdic says in his letter to Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

Serbs Preparing Offensive at Srebrenica, Zepa

AU1303115195 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 95 p 5

[Article by K. Mulalic: "Peacekeepers Are Watching Silently"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The difficult situation in the Bihac region has partly overshadowed the equally difficult humanitarian and military-security situation in the eastern "safe havens" of Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde.

According to the available information, Srebrenica is facing a humanitarian catastrophe. According to local officials Fahrudin Salihovic and Osman Suljic, in January and February this year, only 28 percent of the the planned relief aid supplies needed for just mere survival were achieved. But that is not the worst problem that the citizens of Srebrenica are facing.

Srebrenica has not received any medical supplies for three months. The local hospital takes in only the urgent cases, but they cannot be helped. In addition to jaundice, enterocolitis, and several skin diseases, tuberculosis is also spreading and taking its toll. In the last 40 days, 39 people have died of this disease. Until recently, there were five doctors who attended the sick, while now there are only three, which is one doctor per 15,000 people.

Srebrenica lacks everything. Some 10,000 people still need to be accommodated. People need clothes and footware. Since May 1993, small quantities of children clothes and footware have arrived in this heroic town on only two occasions. Adults did not receive anything.

Territories as a Gift

In this enclave, which has been under full blockade for almost three years, there is neither water, nor electricity, nor firewood.... Elementary schools work under very difficult conditions, without textbooks or teaching aids. These have been waiting in Tuzla for months, because UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] do not want to deliver them. Srebrenica also lacks oil derivatives that are necessary for the work of the hospital.

From April 1993 until mid-January this year, the blue helmets entrusted with the protection of the free territories around Srebrenica relinquished significant territories to the chetniks that had been previously liberated by the superhuman efforts of Naser Oric's heroes. In May 1993, the soldiers of the Canadian UN battalion presented the chetniks with the territories around Klotjevac, Ljeskovik, Prohic, Urisic, and Jasenova villages. In the fall of the same year, the Canadians withdrew from the positions near Bljecevo and Cizmici villages, thereby making possible the chetnik occupation of a great part of that territory, and not only the occupation. Before the very eyes of the UN soldiers, the chetnik criminals committed several horrible crimes in that "safe haven." In October 1993, they massacred 17 civilians in the fields near Bljecevo and took another 40 other civilians prisoner. So far, nothing is known about the fates of those people.

The Dutch, who replaced the Canadians, also did nothing to protect Srebrenica and its citizens. On the contrary, they allowed the aggressor to gradually occupy "safe havens" piece by piece. First they relinquished Caus, the most dominant position, and then some parts of Zalazje village and certain territories around Bljecevo and Cizmici. In December last year and in January this year, the UN soldiers withdrew from the control points near Podgaj village and thereby made it possible for the chetniks to occupy additional territories. The chetniks penetrated 1.5 km into the free territory from the direction of Vlasenica.

Attacks on a Daily Basis

Those are not the only sins of the UN peacekeepers. The UN soldiers let chetniks pile up the most dangerous weapons around Srebrenica and bring in new ones. Attacks against this safe area take place on a daily basis, while UNPROFOR does nothing to prevent them. New equipment and manpower are brought in freely from Serbia. The UN soldiers watch and keep silent. For the past 15 days, the free territories around Srebrenica have been the targets of chetnik attacks. All sorts of weapons are used in those attacks, even tanks. The chetnik leaderships in Belgrade and Pale are even supplying their soldiers by helicopter. Neither the UNPROFOR soldiers nor the European observers who monitor the border on the Drina River see that.

The information coming in from Srebrenica says that the aggressor has been preparing an offensive against this free territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina for months. Srebrenica has nothing to defend itself with. The weapons were taken away from its defenders as early as April 1993, when this territory was declared a UN safe haven. Preparations for the forthcoming offensive are being made in all directions. The chetnik engineers are digging new routes From the direction of Derventa and Milici toward heroic Suceska in order to enable the easier occupation of those free territories around Srebrenica that are only 20 km from the center of the town. In other territories around this enclave, everything is ready for the chetnik offensive. At the same time, preparations are being made for an offensive against Zepa. UNPROFOR knows about this, but it does nothing.

The people of Srebrenica demand immediate action by all those who can help.

[Box, p 5]

Why did the chetniks occupy the territories around Podgaj village? Their goal was to secure an extremely important communication line; the road from Milici to Skelani village, by which all military equipment is brought in from Serbia to the territories of Srebrenica, Vlasenica, Han-Pijesak, Sekovici, Zvornik, and other areas controlled by the aggressor. All traffic from Serbia crosses the border at Bajina Basta, where there are no EU observers.

On the Skelani-Milici road—or more precisely, in Zeleni Jadar village near Srebrenica—there is an UNPROFOR checkpoint through which tanks, rocket launchers, all kinds of howitzers, other military equipment, and many troops of the regular army of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia pass. That fact indicates that the chetniks and UNPROFOR are working on the same task.

Muratovic Blames UNPROFOR for Bihac

95BA0159A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 9 Feb 95 p 6

[Interview with Minister Hasan Muratovic by Zdravko Latal; place and date not given: "Michael Rose Prevented Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"The UN units are a necessary evil, capable of causing a crisis in order to prove that they are infallible"; "Now that they are no longer wanted in Croatia, they would like to come to Bosnia"; "The main problems in Bihac were caused by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]."*

From our associate.

Sarajevo, 8 Feb—The occasion for our interview with Dr. Hasan Muratovic, a minister in the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was the statements by Hamdija Kabiljagic, president of the Bihac District Assembly, who described the humanitarian situation in the district as hopeless and said for the first time that 47 people, mostly children, had died just in the hospital there from starvation and undernourishment, and by former UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina Michael Rose, who said that during his visit to the United States no one in the U.S. Administration wanted to receive him because of the slanders spread by the Bosnian Government and the press there.

Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic has also confirmed that the situation in the Bihac District is critical. A few days ago, several hundred residents of the city were demanding bread from representatives of the authorities. The latter sent them to the UNPROFOR barracks, saying that UNPROFOR was responsible for their suffering. The situation is even worse, because cases of death by starvation are only being recorded in the hospital, and no one knows what is happening in the villages.

[Latal] Since the end of hostilities and the signing of the cease-fire agreement on 21 December, only two convoys of food have arrived in Bihac....

[Muratovic] The Krajina Serbs are not observing the agreement at all, and are preparing a new offensive. It is already raging near Velika Kladusa. There is a very simple way of getting food to the suffering people, but the UN will not accept it. They would only have to set conditions for the delivery of humanitarian aid to the Croatian Serbs and Karadzic's forces. UNPROFOR sends 5-10 convoys of food to Banja Luka every week. If they prevented the Serbs from delivering fuel, they would immediately allow the passage of food convoys to Bihac. Specifically, the Security Council resolution requires the use of force against parties that prevent it. Then it would have to use aircraft for that purpose, but the international community will not decide on such a step. They should also deliver food by airdrops, but they cannot do it now, because General Rose deliberately allowed the deployment of surface-to-air missiles. They can therefore shoot down allied aircraft at any time. Until the deployment of the missile systems, the world responded to Bosnian requests to send food to Gorazde, Zepa, and Srebrenica, by airdrops.

[Latal] The Bosnian Government and public have not assessed General Rose favorably, and recently he stated to reporters in the United States, where none of the government representatives wanted to receive him, that the Bosnian authorities and the media had slandered him. You also warned about his role in the Bosnian crisis.

[Muratovic] The UN units are a necessary evil. Once any state accepts the Blue Helmets, then it is very difficult to get rid of them. The soldiers' pay, at the higher levels, reaches as much as $25,000. It is then logical that they try to stay as long as possible. They did absolutely nothing in Croatia, and now they are trying to stay in that country at all costs. They have also done nothing in many Bosnian areas. Unfortunately, we have areas in Bosnia—for example, Gorazde, Zepa, and Srebrenica—that cannot do without them. We were convinced that that was also the case in the Bihac District, but events have disproved our opinion.

[Latal] The opinion of the Bosnian authorities is that it was precisely in the case of Bihac that UNPROFOR proved its incompetence....

[Muratovic] It was UNPROFOR that caused the main problems in Bihac. We lost a lot of territory because of it. The world does not know that. General Rose planned it. He obstructed implementation of the ban on flights and the use of heavy weapons and artillery. He knew quite well that the Serbs only recognize force. He was able to learn that upon the withdrawal of the heavy weapons from Sarajevo. Whenever they were seriously threatened, the Serbs complied with the demands. Rose saw that the war could have been ended in this region in that way.

If he had given the Serbs a 10-day deadline to accept the Contact Group plan, they would quite certainly have accepted it. Someone hinted to them, however, that there would not be any ultimatum. Rose knew that it was not Great Britain's intention to stop the war in this region, and he deliberately acted in such a way that he canceled the two existing ultimatums, the ban on flights over Bihac, and the use of heavy weapons. He thereby hinted to the Serbs that their aircraft could bomb the Bihac District. We have information that he explained to them that the Bihac safe area had not been precisely defined.

He also allowed them to fire guided missiles at Sarajevo, since he did not intervene, and to deploy modern antiair missile batteries. Ten days after our side warned the international community about the new missile systems, General Rose admitted their existence. He actually knew at every moment what was happening, both throughout Bosnia and in the Bihac district. Satellite photographs existed; at least two aircraft were constantly flying over Bosnia and taking pictures. Through the blockade on information, he prevented what little that could be done to thwart the Serbs.

[Latal] The Bosnian Government sent UNPROFOR a virtual ultimatum to open the Tuzla airport by 1 February and to leave it. The representatives of the international forces said at first that they would open the airport, and then determined that the Bosnian Serbs would not permit them to do it. Will UNPROFOR leave the Tuzla airport?

[Muratovic] We are in constant contact with UNPROFOR. In the course of a year it has not done anything about the airport. Now it is offering us some sort of new solution, which we will talk about next week. I can only confirm to you that the status quo at the airport will not continue.

[Latal] After Tudjman's decision to deny hospitality to the Blue Helmets, there have been very frequent rumors that they will move to Bosnia. Has the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government formed any position on that issue, and will it change its attitude toward the international forces, both politically and economically? The general agreement on the use of facilities and infrastructure in Bosnia-Herzegovina is very awkward, in fact.

[Muratovic] We think that there are quite enough members of the international forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The figure is approximately 25,000. Most of them are not doing anything. They are still deployed on the former lines of confrontation between units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] from the period of the conflicts, even though those conflicts no longer exist, and neither our units nor the Croatian ones are there. In Sarajevo alone there are 6,000 soldiers. We are not convinced that that many soldiers are needed to maintain the airport and oversee the cease-fire.

Now that they are no longer wanted in Croatia, they would like to come to Bosnia. We really will change something in relations with UNPROFOR. Specifically, they came to Sarajevo even before the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina started, and before we even knew that there would be a war. Someone knew, however. At that time the UNPROFOR command was offered free lodging in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo. They decided on Sarajevo. At that time it was said that at most 1,000 troops would come to the city and to Bosnia, and now 25,000 of them have come. They have not fulfilled a single mandate entrusted to them. The general agreement says that the government will make commercial premises available to UNPROFOR for free. Except for residences, all the facilities really are available to them for free. UNPROFOR, however, has violated the articles of the agreement by demanding higher-quality lodging and by concluding separate contracts with individual firms for the use of facilities. That was the case with Skenderija, Zetra, and Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio-Television, for example. We do not have any information about those contracts, and consequently we do not know how much money UNPROFOR is spending in Bosnia. The mutual relationship in Croatia is different, and thus it is known that that country is earning about $600 million a year from the Blue Helmets. We have also been following those matters here recently. New contracts are being concluded. Our side would like UNPROFOR in Sarajevo to move to the Marshal Tito barracks and renovate them.

To be sure, UNPROFOR is regularly paying for other services, for example municipal services, electricity, road use fees, participating in winter and regular repairs of roads, and so forth. The change in the situation since the time when the first agreement was concluded requires a change in the agreement. If it is not possible to achieve fair military and political agreements, at least there should be a clean slate in the economic area.

Article Recounts Trip to Velika Kladusa

95BA0162A Belgrade SRPSKA REC in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 95 pp 44-45

[Article by Vojkan Ristic: "Just for Babo To Come Back"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Paradox is a feature of life in the autonomous oblast of western Bosnia [AOZB]. Although the war still continues, Velika Kladusa is entering its first month of freedom. Nebojsa Lazarevic of Belgrade, whose wife is from Velika Kladusa, managed the other day to get through to the "capital" of the AOZB and carried some food and clothing to his relatives.

"The town itself is not much destroyed, except for structures where fierce battles were waged and that were fired on both by Fikret Abdic's fighters and members of the 5th Corps of Alija Izetbegovic's Army. After Kladusa's liberation many more people returned to the city than were there before the occupation. People even came who had never lived in this city, but had houses in places on the territory of this oblast. Because their villages are not yet liberated, they have settled here temporarily, assuming that then they would be a step closer to their homes. They have moved into the dwellings of people who have left to fight Abdic's fighters. The town itself now recalls those refugee camps Batnoga and Turanj, where people driven out of this region lived for several months," Lazarevic said in conveying his impressions to SRPSKA REC.

Because of the military operations in the immediate vicinity of Kladusa, curfew is in effect for 18 hours. It begins at 1400 hours and lasts until 0800 hours the next morning. Forty or so tank shells are fired every day at a distance of several kilometers, accompanied by bursts from infantry weapons and mortars.

There is no water in the city. Electricity is a luxury that belongs to civilization. Hygiene is maintained thanks to the abundant snow, which is also used for cooking. There are tanks with drinking water, but there is always the danger of mortar shells falling from the nearby hills. Four children were hit the other day near one of those tanks.

Hunger in the Food City

Agrokomerc, the agricultural combine for which both Velika Kladusa and Fikret Abdic are well-known, is now a dead giant. As it retreated, the 5th Corps slaughtered all the livestock, so that the people returning to the city have nothing to eat. People are surviving mainly with what they can make from modest quantities of flour, which has an arduous time reaching Kladusa. This is a kind of culinary exhibitionism. The more skillful housewives manage to make several dishes from flour and potatoes that were not dug last fall. Hunger now prevails in what previously was the food city. The biggest treat for the children are a few pieces of Agrokomerc chocolate kept beyond its ordinary shelf life, Lazarevic told us.

Many people are ill. The wounded are arriving constantly. The only hospital is now working around-the-clock. There are no drugs. Medical personnel are improvising as best they can to help the sick and wounded. There are no infectious diseases (for the present), although they may appear, especially when warmer weather comes.

"The only hope for those people is contained in the figure of Fikret Abdic. He is not staying in the city for security reasons. So far, there have been several attempts to assassinate him. The last time he was in Velika Kladusa a mortar shell fell on the opstina building some 20 minutes after he entered it, and he only survived by fortunate circumstance. The people have literally forbidden him to stay in the city lest something happen to him."

They all believe in Abdic in the hope that when the war is over he will again start up the machines at Agrokomerc, which provided the entire region with a livelihood. Only Babo can do that. In some parts of the combine, production continued until last July in spite of the war all around. The machines are standing idle. Now, the greatest attention is being paid to protect all Agrokomerc plants from the devastation of war, so that production can start up as soon as possible.

People who have returned to Kladusa have spent several months in refugee camps on the territory of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK]. The Muslims and Serbs have lived in concord in these parts since time immemorial. The people of Velika Kladusa refer to themselves as Krajisnici. After all that has happened to them, it is still clearer to them that, contrary to the wishes of Alija Izetbegovic and Radovan Karadzic, there is no alternative to life together with the Serbs. The most pejorative words can be heard these days in Kladusa about their brother Muslims who are waging war against them in the 5th Corps. Perhaps the entire matter is best illustrated by the datum that after all the devastations of war in this city the mosque and Orthodox church are still standing and have not been touched by a single bullet. Although the entanglement of war politics in this region has yet to be unraveled, it is our informant's impression that people have even now decided firmly that "they do not want to live in any state of Alija Izetbegovic."

It takes quite a bit of luck to reach free Velika Kladusa. "If I set out there again today, I do not know whether I would succeed in reaching it," Lazarevic says, assessing the situation. He stresses the excellent cooperation between the military and police forces of the Srpska republic and the AOZB. The bus of the private carrier Neven Line from Belgrade goes to Vojnic in the Srpska republic. Kladusa is another 30 km or so from there. Thanks to the kindness of Djuro Skaljac and Dusan Desetak at the checkpoint between the Srpska republic and the AOZB, which is a kind of border crossing between the two unrecognized states, Lazarevic got through to his relatives: "I was ready to travel those 30 km on foot, but Salih and Mirsad from Velika Kladusa came by in a car and took me to the house of my relatives. I am also very grateful to them."

Nebojsa Lazarevic left Velika Kladusa after spending 10 days there and returned to Belgrade. Even he cannot answer the question of when he will go back to that city, just like many questions related to the fate of people in those areas who are waiting for real answers.

[Box, p 45]

Cameraman Sead Kajtazovic

There is no electricity. Radio Velkaton is broadcasting thanks to a motor-driven generator. There are few newsmen. A team from Radio-TV Serbia visited recently. The history taking place in these areas has nevertheless been recorded thanks to the effort of video cameraman Sead Kajtazovic, who has spent day and night with his cameras on these front lines together with Fikret Abdic's fighters. Kajtazovic has also been recording events in the city because of his desire that the fight for the AOZB be preserved from oblivion in pictures as well.

Tudjman-Gore Joint Statement, News Conference

LD1203125995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 95

[Report by Andjelko Perincic from Copenhagen]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 1 April the UN Security Council will establish a mandate in Croatia which will consolidate Croatia's international borders with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in areas not supervised by Croatia. This was the key decision made after today's series of meetings that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman had with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, U.S. Vice President Al Gore, and others. This was also the most important news of the UN summit for social development in Copenhagen, attended by the Croatian state delegation.

In a joint statement after the meeting Tudjman and Al Gore also said that UN international forces had the responsibility to supervise humanitarian operations for Bosnia-Herzegovina through Croatia's occupied areas and expressed support for the implementation of the Zagreb cease-fire agreement in Croatia and for economic issues.

At the news conference President Tudjman and Vice President Gore said that the contact group agreed with this plan, that is, that the peacekeepers would have about 5,000 soldiers in Croatia, that the UN Security Council would confirm such a stand in a resolution expected to be adopted before 1 April to avoid a time vacuum.

After the news conference President Tudjman addressed the conference on the main topic of the summit: social development. We are a young independent state, he said, and given the process of social transition we have not been able to contribute to social development in the world to the degree to which we would have liked. However, we are taking on a responsibility to do so more intensively in the future. Our constitution contains provisions on social development, democracy, human rights, cultural and religious freedom, and so forth, recalled President Tudjman. Sadly, the war stood in our way which, from our point of view, indicates that the basis of the development of territorial integrity and sovereignty lies in the prevention of an aggressive policy and war clashes and subsequently in the creation of a world in which there is no room for fear from aggression.

[Begin Tudjman recording, in English] We have to look forward to this goal with optimism, but we also have to be patient and spare no efforts in the quest for a better world in which dignity of human life and not poverty will prevail. Thank you, Mr. President [as heard]. [applause] [end recording]

Part of UN To Remain

LD1203115795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1143 GMT 12 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—Croatia will allow the United Nations peace force to remain in its territory after March 31, but in smaller numbers and with a different mandate, U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali's office said in Copenhagen on Sunday.

The secretary-general's spokesman Therese Gastaut said Butrus-Ghali had today spoken with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and that he had agreed that a reduced number of peacekeepers remain in Croatia.

Foreign agencies report that Tudjman is expected to announce this decision later today after his planned meeting with U.S. Vice President Al Gore in Copenhagen, where a U.N. summit on social developments is closing its work.

United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher told reporters on Sunday aboard his plane en route from Israel to Saudi Arabia that the Western allies had reached 'a good general understanding' with Croatia to allow 'substantial numbers' of peacekeepers to remain there, the British news agency REUTERS said.

If this agreement is implemented, Christopher said it would partially reverse Tudjman's decision to deny an extension of the mandate of the 12,000-strong United Nations Protection Force in Croatia after it expires on March 31.

REUTERS also carried statements by U.S. officials to THE NEW YORK TIMES daily that Tudjman had agreed that a reduced contingent of 5,000-6,000 peacekeepers remain in Croatia. About 10 percent of these troops would be deployed along the border areas toward Bosnia and Serbia, the daily said.

More on Talks

LD1203113395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Mar 95

[Report by Andjelko Perincic from Copenhagen]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman is expected to address the world summit in a few minutes. Croatia has made a considerable contribution in Copenhagen during the preparations for the meeting. At Croatia's request, the final resolution included our stand that there could be no social development until millions of refugees and displaced persons returned to their homes. [passage omitted]

Tudjman then met UN Secretary General Butros Butros-Ghali and Richard Holbrooke, assistant U.S. secretary of state.

We have just learned that talks between Tudjman and U.S. Vice President Al Gore have ended. The topic was the peace process and the settlement of the problem of Croatia's occupied areas. At the end of the meeting a brief joint statement was issued which says that about 600 international soldiers should be deployed along Croatia's borders with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in the occupied areas and slightly more than 5,000 inside the occupied areas. No other details regarding this mandate are known yet in diplomatic circles.

Tudjman on Copenhagen Decision

LD1203192295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 12 Mar 95

[News conference given by President Franjo Tudjman on arrival at Zagreb airport from Copenhagen—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Tudjman] I have just returned from the world conference on social issues which the Croatian state delegation attended from the very beginning; Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Kostovic has stayed behind until the end of the conference, probably tomorrow. The Croatian delegation put forward our standpoints on social issues that are of interest to the whole world, especially in view of our circumstances resulting from aggression and the consequences of the war.

As part of the conference, I briefly spoke about our views on some vital issues, but more important were the meetings I had with a number of statesmen, some informal but no less important, but the most important talks, the talks of great state importance were those with Chancellor Kohl and with U.S. Vice President, Mr. Al Gore. During these bilateral talks we explained Croatia's views on a vital issue, i.e. the question of removing the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], since not only these collocutors but—I can say and can repeat what I have already said—perhaps at least 20 heads of state and government with whom I had the opportunity to speak and who asked to have meetings with me, asked with apprehension what would happen after 31 March. The world was genuinely concerned and in some way displayed not just great concern but also readiness to take steps that would not be in our interest unless we reached an agreement that guarantees that the peaceful process of reintegrating the occupied areas in the legal system of Croatia is maintained.

You have probably heard my statement at the conference and I will not repeat it. Here, however, for the domestic audience, I will say that we achieved the optimum level of protection for Croatia's national and state interests, and just in case it is said that we have agreed on UNPROFOR under a different name, I will reply that the primary task of Croatia's state policy is to be at the Croatian state's borders. This agreement will guarantee this and will ensure that this will be done by special international forces, in other words, Croatian soldiers will not shed, we will not have to sacrifice Croatian lives and shed Croatian blood in order to emerge on Croatia's borders. This safeguards to the largest extent possible Croatia's national and state interests. At the same time it will help to deepen our relations with both the European Union [EU] and the main world superpower, the United States, in all spheres. Have you heard how the EU, in dealing with the agreement on trade and cooperation, the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, etc, set conditions for ways of resolving the problem of the danger of escalation and the crisis spreading not just within Croatia but to the whole of the Balkans, and by implication, of a war catastrophe throughout the world, as many pointed out [sentence as heard]?

You are also aware that our friends from the United States have also been very worried, and were resolute in setting their demands. I can tell our public that my reply was that we would not change our decision to terminate UNPROFOR's mandate, as we did not, and that we would not accept a new agreement on the deployment of special international forces to carry out tasks in our interest—to control Croatia's borders with Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro, and the borders with Bosnia-Herzegovina controlled by Croatian and Bosnian Serbs—had we not reached such an agreement in principle.

It is in our interest to keep the UN headquarters in Croatia and to ensure that UNPROFOR in Bosnia receives its supplies through Croatia. You are aware of earlier proposals to move them from Croatia. We are interested in keeping the United Nations in Croatia not only to maintain the peaceful process of reintegration but also, between ourselves, for economic reasons.

You could see from Vice President Gore's statement that the United States has played an active, the most active, role in preparing such a solution and that it has promised to play the main role in the overall process that would lead to such a settlement. This is in line with our national and state interests.

Therefore, even though many have been skeptical about this crisis, believing that Croatia is in dire straits, with this agreement we have strengthened Croatia's international position. The world has welcomed such a resolution and we have also strengthened Croatia's financial and economic position, enabling it to resume bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

You have also heard that Vice President Gore invited us to Washington where the first anniversary of the Washington Agreements on Federation and confederation will be marked. We will, of course, discuss other issues on this occasion and I will meet President Clinton. To sum it up, I had a difficult day today but it seems that it was a successful one for Croatia.

[Correspondent] [words indistinct]

[Announcer] Dear listeners, you may not be able to hear the question by correspondent Zeljko Rajic from Croatian TV. He is asking the president about the continuation of negotiations with the Serbs from UN Protected Areas.

[Tudjman] I do not know what was happening yesterday and today as I was unable to watch your news, but we can expect that a majority of the Serbs in Croatia, instructed by Belgrade, will understand that there is no solution other than peaceful reintegration of occupied areas in the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia.

This could already be seen at a session of their so-called assembly in Knin when a proposal for the replacement of Mikelic was rejected, who is the main negotiator in talks with our officials regarding the opening up of the motorway. Does traffic along the motorway proceed as normal today? In a few days the Zagreb-Slavonski Brod-Vinkovci railway line via Okucani ought to be reopened. Work is being done, in addition to the oil pipeline and to what has been achieved so far [changes thought], and what is the most important thing, not only to begin talks but also to begin examining technical issues regarding the Zagreb-Split railroad via Knin; I think that reason will prevail among the Croatian Serbs, and that they will understand that it is in the interest of their population and in the interest of the overall normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations—that they will accept peaceful resolution, as this is what the whole world wants; this creates conditions for the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and for the establishment of the new international order on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

[Correspondent] Croatian Radio. Mr. President, can you say something about the timescale of the new agreement on the presence of international forces in Croatia and along the internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Croatia?

[Tudjman] You know that in my decision to terminate the UNPROFOR mandate, that I have already proposed—being familiar with those international relations and international interests—that a gradual UNPROFOR withdrawal should be completed by the end of June.

In this agreement we have not determined any timescale, but we said, which was repeated by Vice President Gore, that this agreement should be reached as soon as possible. By all means I hope this will take place within that timescale [as heard].

My talks in Copenhagen with Vice President Gore were also attended by Madam Albright, a U.S. official and the U.S. representative to the UN Security Council, who again said and assumed the obligation that such an agreement should be reached within the Security Council as soon as possible.

[Unidentified correspondent] What guarantees exist that the Security Council will adopt a decision that will protect Croatia's national interests? Croatia is not the only player in this respect. UNPROFOR is there, the Serbs should also give their consent. What guarantees has Croatia been given that a satisfactory solution will be reached?

[Tudjman] First of all, members of not only the United States as the most actively involved party, but also representatives of the European Union and even Russia, took part in reaching this agreement in principle. They all gave their consent in principle for such a solution to be reached. This constitutes a guarantee. Rebel Serbs need not give any sort of consent, because in this respect they are not an equal party, an internationally recognized player, who will be asked to give consent. It should be expected that because of the current international situation about which I have spoken, that those more reasonable people among them will understand that this is in the general interest of peace, in the general interest of the majority of the population in the temporarily occupied areas and, as I said, in the interest of the overall normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations.

[Unidentified correspondent] Can you say something about negotiations on the new mandate: Will those international forces that are being mentioned be within the United Nations, or has something else been envisaged?

[Tudjman] They will be within the United Nations, but in accordance with a special agreement only with Croatia, having a special command, and of such composition with which the Croatian government will agree.

[Announcer] Dear listeners, this was a live broadcast from Zagreb Airport where Croatian President Franjo Tudjman made a statement and replied to journalists' questions upon his return from Copenhagen.

Babic Hails U.S. Participation

LD1203182895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1722 GMT 12 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Milan Babic, minister of foreign affairs of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said that U.S. participation in the resolution of the Croatian-Krajina crisis is extremely important, the RSK news agency ISKRA says.

Babic made this statement in connection with a meeting between U.S. Vice President Al Gore and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman which took place at the Copenhagen summit on global social problems, ISKRA says.

"In the overall crisis of Croatian-Krajina relations, which culminated in the Croatian demand for the UN Protection Force's withdrawal, the active U.S. participation in searching for a solution to overcome the crisis represents a very important trend," Babic said.

"The RSK remains open to talks on solutions which will contribute to the strengthening of peace; it welcomes participation by all well intentioned mediators who care for a just and permanent peace on the territory of former Yugoslavia," Babic stressed.

Tudjman, Kohl Discuss Ways To Resolve Crisis

LD1103221995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a longer report on talks between Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The talks were held in exceptionally friendly atmosphere. The statesmen discussed the most topical issues regarding ways of resolving the crisis. They discussed the continuation of the peace process in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate. Germany and other EU members voiced their concern over possible developments after the UNPROFOR mandate expires.

The Croatian president said that Croatia was advocating a peaceful solution and that it, together with the international community, wanted to find a way to station international forces on the internationally recognized Croatia's borders with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. President Tudjman added that Croatia was interested in normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations if Serbia were to recognize Croatia within its international borders.

They also discussed Bonn's positive contributions to the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The two statesmen agreed to have more intensive contacts. Both urged an even closer cooperation between Croatia and Germany.

They also discussed global solutions to the problem of the temporarily occupied Croatian territories and the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have learned from well-informed sources that Germany was due to play a more active role in the peace process in former Yugoslavia.

Indonesia's Suharto Views Balkans at Banquet

BK1303105295 Jakarta ANTARA in Indonesian 0805 GMT 13 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zagreb, 13 Mar (ANTARA)—President Suharto has said that Indonesia is prepared to contribute to efforts to achieve peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

"The president hopes that his visits to Croatia and Bosnia will enable him to see the latest situation and listen to the explanations of leaders here," State Secretariat Minister Murdiono told reporters in Zagreb on Sunday [12 March].

Murdiono said that the president made the remarks during a dinner banquet hosted by Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic. The dinner banquet was also attended by Mrs. Tien Suharto, Minister Murdiono, and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

According to the head of state, only the leaders of the former Yugoslav federation—not any other parties—will be able to settle the conflict in the former territory, which was once led by Tito.

The president added that Indonesia has experienced problems similar to what is happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, particularly in the early years of independence. During the banquet, Prime Minister Valentic said the Croatian people need a comprehensive settlement to attain a peaceful atmosphere.

Prior to the banquet, the president paid a courtesy call on Croatian Parliamentary Speaker Nedjeljko [name as received]. Meanwhile, on Saturday the president witnessed the signing of a memorandum of understanding [preceding three words received in English] between Faisal Abda'u, president director of the State Oil and Gas Corporation, and Franjo Gregaric [name as received], director of the Croatian Oil Company, to explore cooperation in the petroleum field.

The memorandum of understanding covers the possibility of exporting liquefied natural gas [LNG] from Bontang, East Kalimantan and new fields in the Natuna islands to Croatia. The LNG will meet the energy needs of the former Yugoslav republic or will be distributed to Europe. [passage omitted]

Rumor Denied on Closing Border With Greece

AU1003214895 Skopje MIC in English 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The spokesman of the Government of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] denied the speculations that appeared in the magazine MAKEDONSKO VREME and MACEDONIAN TIMES about Macedonia's readiness to completely close the border with the Republic of Greece if the decision of the European court is biased and if it contains a lot of restraints in relation to the embargo implemented by Macedonia's southern neighbor. Mr. Ismail said:

"Unfortunately the Government of the RM [Republic of Macedonia] once again feels that it is necessary to react to various speculations about our political position, especially about our foreign policy in relation to our neighbors. We evaluate that this represents the probing of various political speculators, which means that they themselves are not actually involved. The reason for today's reaction is the irresponsible writing of the monthly MAKEDONSKO VREME in relation to the Greek embargo towards the Republic of Macedonia. Claiming alleged exclusivity, which can certainly not be brought into connection with the Government of the RM, the article in MAKEDONSKO VREME announces drastic changes to our foreign policy. That allegedly the Republic of Macedonia will start to implement reciprocal measures towards the Republic of Greece, which will mean the total closing of the border for any kind of traffic. All of this of course motivated and in the function of pressuring the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg that will soon have to make a decision about Greece's non-European behavior. I have to point out that the Republic of Macedonia is not considering any kind of changes to it's foreign policy and in that sense nor is it considering changes in it's policy towards the Republic of Greece. We do not have any reason to pressure the sessions and decisions of any court and especially not the decisions of the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg," stated for the press the spokesman of the Government of the RM, Guner Ismail.

Gligorov, Butrus-Ghali Discuss UN, Greece

LD1103182095 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 11 Mar (BETA)—United Nations Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali met Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov in Copenhagen last night, Gligorov's office stated today.

During the course of the meeting, Gligorov raised the issue of the separation of the UN Protection Force command in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] from the joint command in Zagreb.

Having expressed desire to resolve the Macedonian-Greek issue as soon as possible, the UN secretary general voiced his trust in Cyrus Vance's mediation efforts, the statement says.

Gligorov and Ghali also discussed a consistent implementation of the UN resolution on compensation for those who have unjustly suffered from the economic sanctions against Yugoslavia, since this resolution is not being observed fully, the statement says. It then goes on to add that Gligorov asked the UN secretary general to secure free rail corridor for Macedonian railways.

PDP, Government Agree To Resume Talks

AU1003215495 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Late last night, a communique was issued on the resumption of talks between the Macedonian Government and the representatives of the Albanian parties in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. These talks will be held with the mediation of Geert Ahrens, mediator of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, and the OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe] representative in Skopje, (Abajian). Meanwhile, the Presidency of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP], the wing of Abdurrahman Haliti, decided last night that the deputies of this party will return to the Macedonian Assembly. Our correspondent, Ibadete Hajrullahu, is on the line from Skopje:

[Hajrullahu] The Albanian side was made up by Xheladin Murati, Naser Zyberi, Mersed Bilali, and Arber Xhaferri, while the government was represented by Interior Affairs Minister Ljubomir Frckovski and National Defense Minister Vlado Popovski.

At this meeting, both sides agreed to continue talks on issues of common interest such as education, use of languages, and local self-administration. The report states that the working group considers it necessary to draft proposals that will ease the solution of issues that were mentioned only a few times and that will be examined according to the constitutional relevant procedures. The Albanian representatives reiterated the need for expeditious progress in sensitive issues.

Both sides also agreed that they should work to protect the stability, territorial integrity, and independence of Macedonia.

The next meeting will be held in Skopje on 30 March.

The Albanian assembly members of one PDP wing led by Mr. Abdurrahman Haliti will return to their work in the Macedonian Assembly—this was decided at a meeting of the central presidency of the party held in Tetovo.

Ismet Ramadani told correspondents that, after the meeting with the assembly chairman and the representatives of the international institutions and associations, the party assessed that the issues of national interest should be resolved in the state institutions. With our commitment, he said, we will testify that we are not among those who would narrow the space for political dialogue.

At the same time, he reiterated the party stance that if the Macedonian Assembly does not accomplish an article or adequate solution on the use of the mother tongue, the PDP parliamentary group will again refuse to take part in the work of the Macedonian Assembly.

The Popular Democratic Party, which has conditioned the return of its deputies to the Assembly on the opening of dialogue to resolve the most urgent issues, reckons that the necessary conditions have been created, but this all depends on the seriousness of the talks.

We could not manage to get a statement on the stance of the other PDP wing led by Mr. Arber Xhaferri.

PDP Leader Describes Interethnic Relations

AU1103173295 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting in Skopje with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] officials, Abdurrahman Haliti, chairman of a branch in the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP], described the political situation in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], particularly interethnic relations, as very grave. The Macedonian leadership is trying to compare the grave situation in this republic to the events in Tetovo, thus giving them a political dimension.

According to Mr. Haliti, the events in Tetovo transpired because numerous problems had not been resolved, particularly those regarding education.

By politicizing all initiatives, including the efforts by Albanians here to overcome the situation through dialogue, at appears that the political leaders of Macedonia want to keep the situation tense. Let us hope that the dialogue started last night will bring about concrete results.

Council Assesses Constitutional Status of Serbs

AU1003205195 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 10 Mar 95 p 2

[Article by "K.C.": "The Serbs—A Constitutional Category"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "It is highly possible that the Serbs in the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] are soon to become a constitutional category, meaning that they are going to be registered in the preamble of the Constitution as a nationality, as the Albanians, the Turks, the Vlachs, and the Romanies have been already registered. There are neither general obstacles nor arguments to that," said Stojan Andov, president of the Council for Interethnic Relations at yesterday's session of the Council, "because the government accepts the views of the Council in search of a positive solution to this matter. The only thing to be defined is when this initiative will be put into practice, and it is expected to be at a time when other, similar matters are going to be discussed. However, the only way of solving this question is to expand the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia. As Stojan Andov emphasized, the Serbs are recognized as a nationality in our country automatically.

As far as the opinion of the working group of the Council for Interethnic Relations regarding the rights and the position of the Vlachs that was formed on government recommendation, the Council decided that it was necessary to formulate precise draft recommendations before the discussions are held. Namely, the working group should be given legal assistance, the most critical recommendations should be highlighted, and the Council for Interethnic relations should then form its opinion about them. It was stated that this should all be completed by next Wednesday [15 March].

Customs Director, National Bank Governor Named

95P20591A

[FBIS Editorial Report] On 2 March, the Skopje daily VECER published on pages 4 and 5 a report by V.Velevksa and V. Bogoev entitled "In the Assembly Debate, the Government's Economic Policy Is Supported: The Path to Reforms Is Unavoidable." During the Republic of Macedonia (The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) Assembly session referred to, the government proposed several personnel appointments, which the Assembly adopted. Borko Stanoevski was nominated for a second term as governor of the National Bank of Macedonia (NBM); he first assumed this position before the country's independence in 1991. Stanoevski was born in Berovo in 1937 and has an advanced degree in economics. The Assembly also approved the appointments of the following new members of the NBM's board of directors: Djevet Hajredini, former minister of finance, and Dimko Kokarevski, rector of the Bitola University. Ilija Iljovski, the general director of the "Emo" stock company in Ohrid, was appointed director of the customs administration.

Serbia

Party Leader Blames U.S. for Bosnian War

AU1103200995 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Mar 95

[Interview with Jovo Glamocanin, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party Nikola Pasic, by Dragan Milutinovic in Belgrade on 11 March—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Milutinovic] Mr. Glamocanin, in your opinion, why is peace needed in the Balkans and in Yugoslavia?

[Glamocanin] History clearly shows that every war in the Balkans leads to a war in Europe and then to a world war. We, the Serbs, and our country could only suffer in such a war. As for the war in the former Yugoslavia, it would cause us direct and huge damage. Peace is necessary because only in peace and through a peace process can the basic problems facing our people and state be solved. These issues are the national question, the national problem, and the existential problems that our people and our citizens face.

[Milutinovic] But not everyone is for peace.

[Glamocanin] Of course, there are always forces in the world and here among us that seek a chance for themselves, an advantage for themselves in conditions of war. Among us, there are political forces and political parties that have lost their influence because of their inconsistency, because of their insistence on war and on violence, and now they are again seeking conditions in which they can regain that influence and increase their political strength.

[Milutinovic] In that connection there is some trade-off with the national question.

[Glamocanin] No one has the right to trade in national interests. National interests are sacred; they are also a moral issue, not merely a state and political issue. There must be no trading on the national question. Of course, in our circumstances there could be no trading on national interests since our people have proven their political maturity and they know how to evaluate the policies of each and every party and politician and leadership.

[Milutinovic] As for the peace plan, it is only the basis for negotiations for the solution to the current situation.

[Glamocanin] I think that this issue has been solved. There is no more dilemma as to whether it is a basis for negotiations or a final solution. Only the United States is still committed to the Contact Group as the final solution. We know that the United States has in its ranks hawks and warmongering forces that want to gain economically over Europe with this war, create conditions for the export of its goods, and win economic advantages in the Middle East—that is, with the Arab and Islamic countries.

Citizens' Alliance Urges Peace Plans' Acceptance

AU1203201395 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Mar 95

[Interview with Zarko Korac, deputy chairman of the Citizens' Alliance of Serbia, by Dragan Milutinovic in Belgrade on 12 March—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Milutinovic] Mr. Korac, in your opinion, why is it important now to establish peace in the Balkans and here in Yugoslavia?

[Korac] Peace is needed because life is only possible in peace. Everything else is completely nonsensical, it is only survival from day to day. Peace is the only hope for development, integration, a normal life, for bringing up children, education, and happiness.

[Milutinovic] What about those who are not for peace?

[Korac] It is a very serious problem when a country is at war, since war creates a certain type of parties and leaders, and individuals achieve fame and glory in war. People get used to war. There is also a category that we know little about—the category of war profiteers, who [words indistinct]. Many people naively believe that everyone is for peace. People often say well, who is not for peace? That is wrong since many people are not for peace. Many people live off war and have a relatively good time in war. One should talk to such people, and marginalize them politically in the sense that one should have a dialogue with them at all times.

I think that both peace plans, particularly the Contact Group one for Bosnia, are the only basis to reach peace. Everyone who says that he is not for this peace plan is, in practice, saying that he is in favor of the continuation of the war. However, no one says that no one would take it like that. These people are shrewd. They say they are not in favor of this, but in fact they want the war to continue. That plan has to be accepted. They have to understand that this plan offers what is the only possible option at the moment. It is offering all the sides something so that a stable peace of sorts can be achieved and then political negotiations can do the rest. I am also referring to the Z-4 plan for Croatia, since it is offering a basis. It was presented that way. They said that they were not offering a solution, it was not a take-it-or-leave-it. They said just sit down and have a look at it. This is how we see the solution. Let us see what you think. There is no other option but to accept the peace plan for Bosnia since it is only the beginning, and then life will do the rest.

[Milutinovic] How do you see the issue of war and peace from your point of view as a psychologist?

[Korac] Many things have been said about peace and war. One of the worst things said is that peace is treason, that peace is the betrayal of national interests. This is not true. History only remembers people who fight for peace, who bring peace. Military commanders might be a necessity of a moment, but they are not something that moves mankind forward. Mankind is based on the idea of peace. Psychologically speaking, peace in this region must become a value. That is the problem of [word indistinct] since there have been many wars. People have begun to think that war is a natural state of affairs. That worries me deeply as a psychologist, since generations are growing up thinking that war is the best way of solving political problems. War is not the best way to solve political problems, it is the worst way. This relates to all [word indistinct].

SPO Calls For United Serbia in Peace

AU1203211495 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Mar 95

[Interview with Milan Bozic of the Serbian Renewal Movement by Dragan Milutinovic in Belgrade on 12 March—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Milutinovic] Mr. Bozic, does peace have an alternative today throughout Yugoslavia?

[Bozic] Of course, peace always has an alternative, and that is war. However, things are the same with peace and with the future. Namely, both peace and the future will inevitably come. The only thing that depends on us is what they will be like. The resistance to peace most frequently comes from those who are allegedly concerned about the fate of the Serbian people. They will keep telling you about the issue of a joint state for all the Serbs, never questioning whether that can be achieved right away, whether it can be achieved at all, and—the most monstrous part of it all—at what cost. That is the key issue. It is not disputable at all that a joint state of all the Serbs is the real political aim of the national program that has been in existence for two centuries now. However, the cost and manner of achieving it is open to political debate.

[Milutinovic] The Contact Group plan has been offered as the starting point for negotiations. What do you think about the solutions offered?

[Bozic] Without any doubt, the peace plan offer is, in the view of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], quite a good basis for real peace. Even if it were to be signed right away, the transition period would last for years until the status quo started to change. This is very important to keep in mind. For example, the Serbs in Bosnia are offered a chance to start negotiations with the 70 percent of the territory they have captured, to negotiate from the current positions. Then the republic of Serbian Krajina is offered a chance to create a unified entity with Bosnia-Herzegovina, of course, without western Herzegovina, west from the Neretva, and so as an entity form economic, cultural, communications, and political links with Serbia and Montenegro, thus creating a large community that could also be quite realistically joined by Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. This is the program and possibility that the SPO sees for the realization of this project, but we see this possibility primarily in peace. A united Serbia, of course, but only in peace, since who needs a desert covered in [word indistinct].

CIA Report Blaming Serbs for Wars Rejected

LD1003184295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 10 Mar 95

["Pool" item: "CIA Still Blames Serbs for All Wars in Former Yugoslavia," by Momir Brkic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, March 10 (TANJUG)—The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has said that while war crimes in Bosnia were not committed exclusively by Serbs, they were the only party involved in a systematic attempt to eliminate all traces of other ethnic groups from their territory.

The CIA has released a classified report, that was published in the U.S. daily NEW YORK TIMES, and communicated it to senior officials of the U.S. Department of Defense, the State Department and the National Security Council.

The NEW YORK TIMES quoted the report based on overhead photography as saying that 'the systematic nature of the Serbian actions strongly suggest that (the Bosnian Serb capital) Pale and perhaps Belgrade exercised a carefully veiled role in the purposeful destruction and dispersal of non-Serb populations.'

According to the report, the burden of guilt lies with the Serbs for all developments in some parts of the former Yugoslavia. The fact that truth dies first in every war has been reiterated countless times. The same applies to the Bosnian civil war that entered its fourth year and for which Bosnian Serbs, Croats and Muslims share equal responsibility.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has recently told the CNN network in an interview that outrageous atrocities especially against civilians are being committed in the Bosnian war. According to estimates, more than 200,000 people have so far been killed in the Bosnian civil war, 600,000 others have been wounded and nearly one million expelled. Hundreds of settlements, factories, churches and mosques have been destroyed and plundered.

Spokesman for the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Ron Redman has said that 955,000 people in Bosnia, including Serbs, were prompted to leave their homes mainly by ethnic cleansing. More than 200,000 of the total 235,000 Serbs who had lived in the areas of the towns of Bihac, Zenica, Tuzla and in western Herzegovina before the war, have been expelled.

A few hundred out of 30,000 Serbs who had lived in Mostar before the war, have still remained there and their fate is unknown. The 1991 census showed that 576,000 serbs had lived in Croatia before the war. Since the outbreak of the war, Croatian authorities have by force or through the different forms of pressure expelled about 350,000 serbs from Croatia.

Figures released by the European Union observer mission in Zagreb showed that about 500 Serbs were daily leaving Croatia and fleeing mainly to Serbia, the Srpska republic or the republic of Serbian Krajina. Deputy chief of the Croatian bureau in Belgrade Dusan Bilandzic has told a session of the state committee for the normalization of relations between Croatia and Serbia held in Zagreb on May 24, 1993 that 250,000 Serbs had left the territory under Croatian sovereignty.

Bilandzic said, 'there is an intimate desire for ethnic cleansing hiding behind Croatian authorities' actions.' Of the total of 53,000 apartments in Zagreb that belonged to the former Yugoslav People's Army, there have been 23,000 cases of eviction of serb families registered so far. The figure is believed to be much higher as the eviction process is underway.

This has prompted Mrs. Danielle Mitterrand, wife of French President Francois Mitterrand, to say in Zagreb several months ago that Croatia 'pursues a policy of subtle and perfidious ethnic cleansing.' The Serb people obviously does not have the 'privilege' of pursuing a policy of ethnic cleansing as the CIA claims, but is, itself, the victim of this policy.

New Conditions Not Acceptable for Lifting of Sanctions

LD1103114995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1106 GMT 11 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Lajkovac, March 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will not accept any new conditions for the lifting of the international sanctions, ranking official of the governing Socialist Party of Serbia and member of the Yugoslav parliament Borisav Jovic has said.

The vice-chairman of the Socialist Party of Serbia's Central Board said at a meeting in the town of Lajkovac, 60 km south of Belgrade, on Friday that three years had gone by since the international sanctions were introduced against Yugoslavia 'by means of a stratagem.'

Jovic said the securing of peace on the territory of the former Yugslavia and the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia were of the utmost importance at this point. The U.N. Security Council in late May introduced comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Yugoslavia because of alleged Yugoslav involvement in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, although the last Yugoslav soldier had withdrawn from Bosnia-Herzegovina by May 19.

The sanctions, except those relating to air and ferry links, culture and sports, continue to be implemented although the international community has long since conceded that Bosnia-Herzegovina is a stage of a civil war. The sanctions relating to air and ferry links and culture and sports were suspended in October last year.

Attempts are now being made at setting new conditions for the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia. Commenting the calls for Yugoslavia to recognize the breakaway republics of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] within what used to be their administrative boundaries within the former Yugoslav federation, Jovic said that to do so would mean to make the same mistake as the international community when it recognized the breakaway republics.

Kosovo

Rugova: Independent State Remains Ultimate Goal

AU1003215595 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 570, 10 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A new campaign against young Albanians was initiated last week by the Serbian regime, said Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, speaking to reporters today in Prishtina, referring to the campaign of the Serbian military authorities to force Albanians into the Serbian Army. He said those who had deserted the former Yugoslav Army have been arrested by the Serbian authorities. "As many as 900 summons for army induction have been distributed, although it is a commonplace thing that Albanians have been refusing to join this Army since the war waged on Slovenia", President Rugova said, calling this round-up of young Albanians a "widespread campaign."

"The campaign is aimed at intimidating Albanians and pressurizing them to flee Kosova. In the aftermath of the campaign against former Kosova police personnel, this is the most dangerous move of the Serbian regime targeting the most vital part of the population of Kosova," Dr. Rugova said, warning Serbia and the international community that this campaign can provoke unrest in Kosova. He added there were reports of call-ups for mobilization in the Army of the Albanians living in Ulqin and other parts of Montenegro. President Rugova called for an immediate cessation of this campaign, which, as he said, might be linked with the atmosphere of possible confrontations in Bosnia, Croatia and wider, confrontations "which may spread southward in the Balkans."

The campaign against the young Albanians may be in connection the fact that many European countries want to return young Albanians from their countries to Kosova, at a time when Serbia forces Albanians out of Kosova, President Rugova remarked.

The Kosova president spoke of other forms of police brutality and persecution of Albanians, making mention of 17 police interventions in the municipalities of

Kosova over the past few days, as well as raids on houses allegedly in connection with arms searches, but also persecution and conviction of political and educational activists.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova reiterated his call for cessation of police repression and the release of all prisoners. He further condemned the colonization campaign of Serbia, singling out the case of the Degan municipality, where a new settlement for Serb colonists has been announced, thus providing housing opportunity for 120 Serb households, as well as job opportunities in Kosova for Serbs who resettle here.

President Rugova of Kosova hailed the U.S. Administration's initiative to send additional troops to FYROM [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], as well as the remarks by former British diplomat to Belgrade, Mr. Michael Robinson, who maintained that Serbs hold Kosova forcefully, appreciating the organization of the Albanians.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova hailed what he termed "the just and civilized" frameworks presented by the British and Irish Governments over Northern Ireland.

Commenting on the resolution adopted by the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, President Rugova reminded that it calls for restoration of the OSCE mission to Kosova and an adequate international monitoring presence here, but also allowing Tadeusz Mazowiecki to come here. The resolution condemns the grave human rights situation in Kosova, he said, hailing the discussions on Kosova by representatives of Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Japan, as well as the statement by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke that the sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro will be linked also with the Kosova issue.

Speaking to reporters today in Prishtina, President of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, availed himself of the opportunity to reiterate the political views and the position regarding Kosova: "We remind the international community that Kosova is neither an Albanian community nor a minority, but rather a former federal unit. The political will of the two-million strong people for independence and its peaceful resistance should be respected, for the commitment of the people, suffering great sacrifices, has contributed to the avoidance of a wide scale conflict in the region."

"Serbs in Kosova will be safeguarded and guaranteed all the rights and interests," President Rugova said, noting that Kosova should pursue good relations with both Serbia and Albania.

"The international community ought to acknowledge the inter-Albanian cooperation in the Balkans," Dr. Rugova stressed, noting that Albania, President Berisha, the Albanian Government and the political forces there have a legitimate right to get interested about the Albanians and to commit themselves to good cooperation with Kosova. "Albania has been moderate and has stood for a solution to the question of Kosova through political means," he said.

"All of us, including the international community should relieve ourselves from the Communist and the Cold War syndrome of 'non-interference in the internal affairs,' for integrations in Europe and the Balkans are in question now," Kosova president said.

"Borders are not inviolable and can be changed through peaceful and political means. Change of borders in this way is not proscribed in any of the UN or OSCE documents," President Rugova said, adding: "Independence of Kosova does not affect borders, but rather affirms the existing borders. If southern Slavic peoples—in the ethnic and national sense of the term—with lesser population, are allowed to have states, statehood of Kosova and the Albanians in the Balkans should be recognized, so that Albanians do not find themselves further partitioned." Kosova will be a factor of stability in the Balkans, President Rugova said, emphasizing that "an independent and neutral Kosova would comfort the Albanians in the Balkans and the Serbs in due time, although for the time being the Serbs do not stand on this view."

"I call on Serbs to think about this, namely the independence of Kosova," president of the Republic of Kosova said, adding that a new reality in the Balkans has emerged. "It is a historical reality that policy of bargaining/trade in the Balkans cannot be pursued without Albanians any more."

President Rugova of Kosova said Albania, although half of its nation lives outside Albania proper, recognizes Kosova with an Albanian majority and the Serbs, it accepts Macedonia with Macedonian and Albanian communities. "Bulgaria recognizes the territory of Macedonia, but not the Macedonian nation," Dr. Rugova said, stressing that the stabilizing role of Albania in this situation should be appreciated.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova called on Russia to be "constructive in the Balkans and towards the Albanians, to work with European Union and the United States."

Replying to a question on the possibility of the war in former Yugoslavia spreading, President Rugova said he hoped there were possibilities to avoid resumption of war in Croatia, and its spreading to Bosnia and wider in the region, for in the case "we, and Europe in general, would face great problems."

Asked to comment on yesterday's statement of President Berisha of Albania and his call addressed to both Prishtina and Belgrade to give up "maximalist objectives," President Rugova said: "We have stood for dialogue, and, of course, it is vital that dialogue or talks start. We are committed to see that talks are conducted under the mediation of a third party. We work towards this, but it is also for the international community to make greater efforts towards this."

Asked by the Serbian news agency TANJUG to comment on German President Roman Herzog's statement on Kosova, viz. his position that the Kosova issue be solved by restoring autonomy to Kosova, the president of the Republic of Kosova said: "We see it (Herzog's statement) as good-natured. His view on autonomy is a question of options and different proposals, but President Herzog and others know very well that the people of Kosova have opted for an independent and neutral state and we stick firmly to it."

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